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HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

BY

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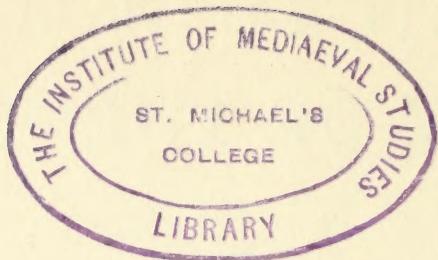
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IN MEMORY OF
MY FATHER'S
FORTIETH YEAR OF SERVICE AS
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY

P R E F A C E

DURING the winter of 1912-1913, the last of his life, Dr. Briggs gave a course of lectures on the History of the Study of Theology to a select group of students from the Graduate Department of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. In this course he combined the methods of the lecture-room with those of the seminar. The lectures were divided into parts, chapters, and sections. Each section was introduced by a brief statement, summing up the most important of the facts about to be imparted. At the close of each section opportunity was given for the asking of questions and for informal discussion. The most important subjects were further elaborated in papers read by the students, giving the results of their own study and research. Much information was, therefore, given in the class-room in addition to that contained in the written lecture.

The chief difficulty in the preparation of these lectures for publication has been to replace the supplementary material without impairing the integrity of the work, or overstepping the limits of two small volumes. It was decided to keep within the limits set by the outline, to add only what the plan of the work seemed to require, and to give all additional statements of opinion, so far as possible, in the form of quotations.

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The supplementary matter in the body of the work is chiefly biographical, consisting of additions to the brief notices of the original manuscript; but it has seemed necessary to the completion of the work to insert a few passages of considerable length. The most important of these are the sections on the study of Theology in the Eastern Church, and the accounts of Bernard of Clairvaux and of Savonarola. These had no place in the original and are entirely supplementary.

The opening chapters were not elaborated in the class-room (the ground having been covered in part in another course); and the attempt to fill up that outline leaves much to be desired. But the greatest difficulty was found in the chapters on the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The first draft of these lectures was written, but was left incomplete and never revised. In his last illness Dr. Briggs was most anxious that the work should be completed, at least in the class-room, and sent over his manuscript to be read there; but he was never able to make the divisions into chapters and sections, to supply the summary statements, to complete the biographical notes, or to write the concluding passages. The missing summaries were found, for the most part, either in the text of the lecture or in his printed works. Others came from an unpublished address on the History of Theological Education.

Throughout the work, but especially in the first and last parts, free use has been made of writings already published, in the hope of securing greater accuracy of statement and a closer uniformity of style. But there is always danger of misrepresentation in such a use of sentences torn from their context. To lessen this

danger the attention of the reader has been called to the original passage by a footnote. If any statement thus made should appear dubious, the original context should be examined, in simple justice to the author. It must not be forgotten that this work in its present form has never been seen by him whose name it bears, that it is far from being what he would have made it, and that no error which may be found in it can justly be ascribed to him. His plan included large additions, especially to the study of Theology in Great Britain and America, and would probably have brought the history up to date. No attempt has been made to add an account of living theologians, comparatively few of whom came into prominence before the closing decade of the past century. To do so would have been to discriminate in the name of another between those who stood to him in personal relations, as friend, pupil, colleague, co-labourer. In this respect also the work must remain incomplete.

Only those who heard these lectures in the class-room can fully appreciate how much of what was given there is missing here. Dr. Briggs has been called by his colleagues and former pupils 'a teacher of teachers, sending men out inspired by his own enthusiasm for honest and independent investigation.' They have testified that 'sometimes his discussion of deep religious themes rose to an almost prophetic rapture.' Those who studied with him that last year could also bear witness to a power and a radiance of spirit that are not of this earth. What seems obscure in these pages he made luminous; what seems dry he made of vital interest. The ideal which he set before his students, and the hope which he cherished, find expression in the passage chosen to

take the place of the concluding words which he did not live to write. That passage was first printed more than ten years ago ; but to those who knew the writer they will come as a message of hope and inspiration from one who gave his life in this world to the study of Theology.

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HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the study of Theology is Theological Encyclopædia placed in its historical frame and order. It traces the study of Theology from the beginning until the present time. There is a study of Theology in all the higher religions. This book does not propose to go beyond the Christian religion. It is the history of the study of Christian Theology. It begins, therefore, with the study of Theology by Jesus Christ and His apostles.

Christian Theology may be studied with regard either to its contents or to its forms. The study of the contents of Christian Theology in their historic mould belongs to the department of Church History, as the history of the Christian Religion, of Christian Doctrine, of Christian Institutions, and so on. Theological Encyclopædia has to do only with the forms of Christian Theology, its methods, the organisation of the various departments of which it is composed, and its literature. The history of the study of Christian Theology is a history of its methods, its disciplines, and its literature.

The study of Christian Theology embraces the whole field of such study, whether public or private, whether institutional or unofficial and unorganised study. It also includes the results of such study in theological

2 HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY

literature. This book will be limited to the study of Theology in preparation for the Christian ministry, and by the ministry during their service of the Church. The more elementary instruction of the people and their study of Theology will come under consideration only so far as these elementary studies lead on to the higher ones.

PART I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF THE APOSTLES

THERE has been a gradual evolution in the study of Christian Theology from the apostolic age until the present day. The history of theological scholarship traces that evolution through the several stages of its development. For the apostolic age it is necessary, first, to determine the environment and conditions under which Jesus and His apostles studied theology and taught it to their disciples. We have to consider: (1) the study of theology among the Jews in the time of Jesus; (2) Jesus' study and teaching of theology; (3) the study of theology by His apostles; (4) education in the Greek and Roman world; (5) the study of theology by St. Paul and his Greek and Roman disciples.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE TIME OF JESUS

1. Jewish Theology in the time of Jesus was the Theology of the Old Testament as interpreted and applied by the several religious parties.

This was supplemented by the study of (1) the Apocryphal Books; (2) the Pseudepigrapha, consisting chiefly of apocalyptic writings; (3) oral traditional doctrines and institutions. But all these were based on the Old Testament Scriptures.

2. *There were two great divisions in Jewish Theology : the Palestinian and the Alexandrian ; the former adhering more strictly to tradition, the latter mingling Greek with Jewish thought.*

The Jewish Rabbinical schools from the most ancient times recognised, alongside of the written Word of God, another oral or traditional Word of much greater extent, handed down from generation to generation in the esoteric teaching of faithful scribes, as the official interpretation of the Written Word. The Palestinian Jews emphasised the authority and importance of this body of traditional interpretation. The Hellenistic Jews were largely under the influence of the Platonic philosophy, which they sought to reconcile with the Old Testament Scriptures.

3. *In the Palestinian Theology there were two great parties : the Pharisees and the Sadducees ; besides a mystic sect called the Essenes, and a revolutionary party called the Zealots.*

The Pharisees were the chief religious party among the Jews in the time of Jesus. The Sadducees had little influence among the people. The Zealots and the Essenes held with the Pharisees to the authority of the traditional interpretation of the Scriptures. The Pharisees subsequently committed this tradition to writing in the Mishna and Talmud.

Their ideal found expression in the saying ascribed to the Men of the Great Synagogue : ‘Raise up many disciples, and make a fence to the Law.’¹

4. *The Pharisees were the scholarly party, whose interest lay in the exposition and practical application of the Old Testament, especially the Law.*

The chief characteristic of the Pharisees was zeal for

¹ *Pirge Aboth*, i. 1; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 388, 429, seq., 447 seq.

the Law. This zeal manifested itself in the utmost scrupulosity as to details. The letter of the Law was unfolded to the utmost logical consequences. The motive was undoubtedly to remove every possibility of transgression, and to secure the utmost strictness and comprehensiveness in its observance. But the result was the raising of innumerable questions of casuistry, and the legalisation of religion, doctrine, and ethics. The Pharisees measured everything by the letter of the Law. The leaders of this party were the doctors and Rabbis, with whom Jesus came into constant contact and conflict in His ministry, and who finally forced the issue that led to His crucifixion.¹

5. There were two chief parties among the Pharisees : the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel ; the former scholastic and pedantic, the latter more ethical and practical.

The school of Hillel cultivated the gnomic method of Hebrew Wisdom and the Haggada. The school of Shammai emphasised the use of the Halaka.² The rivalry between these schools, and the high reputation of both teachers, is set forth in the saying : ‘ Whatsoever gainsaying is for the name of Heaven will in the end be established. . . . What gainsaying is that which is for the name of Heaven ? The gainsaying of Shammai and Hillel.’³

6. The Sadducees were the aristocratic party, especially prominent in the priesthood. They were chiefly interested in the institutions of religion ; but were indifferent to doctrine, which they minimised in scope and importance.

The Sadducees were not sceptical, but practical ; they were sacerdotalists and ceremonialists. They denied

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 167 seq.

² *Vide* p. 14.

³ *Pirke Aboth*, v. 24, 25 ; *vide* Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 107.

such doctrines as those of the resurrection and of angels, regarding them as insufficiently sustained by the Old Testament, being found only in the later writings and those of dubious canonicity. The doctrine of the resurrection has slight support in the Old Testament save in Daniel. Continued existence may be proved from Job, but not resurrection. The place of Daniel in the Canon at this period was still dubious. The doctrine of angels was connected with Persian doctrine and with the degradation of the heathen divinities.

7. The Essenes represented the mystic spirit in Judaism.

They had taken up into their thought and practice elements which were not Jewish, but were derived from other Oriental religions ; so that they were a syncretistic sect rather than a Jewish one. Their numbers were limited, and their influence in the development of Theology was slight and difficult to determine.

8. The Zealots were religious enthusiasts.

They were ever ripe for revolution—enthusiastic students of prophecy, which they were ever eager to fulfil by their own deeds of violence. From them came many of the apocalyptic pseudepigrapha.

9. With all of these parties save the Essenes Jesus came into contact, according to the Gospels.

There is no evidence in the Gospels that Jesus ever came into relation with the Essenes. The teaching and life of Jesus show no ascetic tendencies. So social was He in His ministry, that He was compared unfavourably in this respect, not only with John the Baptist, but also with the Pharisees.¹

10. The Alexandrian Jewish Theology was chiefly represented by Philo, who, however, must be regarded as

¹ *Vide* Matt. xi. 16-19 ; Luke vii. 31-35 ; *vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, p. 268.

an extreme representative of the school. This Theology introduced elements from Greek philosophy to modify Jewish thought.

This type of Jewish Theology spread from Alexandria among the Greek-speaking Jews and over the Greco-Jewish world. Its influence appears in the Prologue of the Gospel of John, and in the Epistles to the Hebrews and to the Colossians ; but one can find little, if any, trace of it in the teachings of Jesus himself.

11. *Jewish education in the time of Jesus was an education in the Old Testament Scriptures and in their interpretation and practical exposition. This was partly domestic, partly synagogal, and partly in Rabbinical schools.*

The Jews gave great attention to the training of their children in the Hebrew religion ; and the many Rabbis educated in the higher Rabbinical schools, especially at Jerusalem and Alexandria, gave private instruction, not only in connection with the synagogues of Palestine, but also in the Jewish *Diaspora*.

12. *The parental education was a training in the elements of the Jewish religion, especially in the recitation of the 'Shema,' and the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. Doubtless certain Psalms and Proverbs, with the Ten Words and other of the most important passages of Scripture, were committed to memory for practical use.*

St. Paul advises Timothy : 'Abide thou in the things which thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them ; and that from a babe thou hast known the Sacred Writings, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus.' ¹ Josephus says : 'If any one should question one of us concerning the laws, he would more easily repeat all than his own name. Since

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 14-15.

we learn them from our first consciousness, we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls.¹

Among the first passages to be committed to memory would be the *Shema*, so called from its initial Hebrew word. The *Shema* is as follows :

*Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God, Yahweh is One: and thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might. And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes. And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house, and upon thy gates.*²

This passage was followed by Deut. xi. 13-21 and Num. xv. 37-41. The *Shema* was a confession of faith, the creed of Israel, said at morning and evening worship with appropriate prayers. Josephus³ testifies that this was the custom among the Jews from remote antiquity, and therefore undoubtedly in the time of Jesus.

This creed excludes every kind of atheism, polytheism, and pantheism; and represents God as the supreme moral Being, worthy of all love. It gives expression to the great fundamental doctrine of the Jewish religion, that of the unity of God; and combines it with the great ethical principle of love. This creed of Israel was the creed of Jesus and His disciples.⁴ Philo testifies that Jewish children 'are taught, so to speak, from their swaddling-clothes by their parents, teachers, and those who bring them up, even before instruction in the sacred laws and the unwritten customs, to believe in God, the one Father and Creator of the world.'⁵

¹ Josephus, *Apion*, ii. 18; *vide* Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes*, ii. ss. 27; English ed., vol. ii. pp. 47 seq.

² Deut. vi. 4-9.

³ Ant. iv. 8, 13.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 24 seq.

⁵ Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium.*, 16; *vide* Schürer, ii. p. 352; English ed., pp. 47 seq.

Among the prayers learned in the home were the most ancient of the *Shemone Esre*, or Eighteen Benedictions. According to the *Berachoth*, these prayers were to be used three times daily by all Jews, even children. They received their present form c. 70-100 A.D., but the ground-work is considerably older.¹

Children must also have been taught the *Hallels*, especially those sung at the Passover: Psalms cxiii.-cxiv. before the Supper, cxv.-cxviii. after the Supper.² It is probable that the latter group constituted the song sung by Jesus and His disciples just before going to Gethsemane.³

The *Shema*, the companion passage from Deuteronomy, and two selections from Exodus,⁴ were written on parchment and placed in two small leather boxes, called *Tephillin* or *Phylacteries*. These were bound by leather straps, the one to the forehead, the other to the arm, and worn during morning prayer, excepting on Sabbaths and feast-days.⁵ They were placed upon boys for the first time at the age of thirteen.

The *Shema* and the other passage from Deuteronomy were also inscribed upon parchment, enclosed in a wooden or metal case, and attached to the upper part of the right-hand door-post of the house, to be touched by the hand on entering or leaving with a prayer. This was called the *Mezuzah*. The practice was based upon Deut. vi. 9. By these means several important passages were deeply impressed on the memory. At the base of such customs was the extreme literalism that was characteristic of the Pharisaic party.

13. The education of the synagogue was partly in the exercise of public worship, and partly in synagogue schools.

Philo calls synagogues 'Houses of Instruction,' in

¹ *Vide* Schürer, ii. pp. 384 seq.; Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 18 seq.; Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 206 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, i. p. lxxviii.

³ Matt. xxvi. 30.

⁴ Ex. xiii. 1-10, 11-16.

⁵ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 183 seq.

which are taught the philosophy of the fathers and every form of virtue.¹ So also in the New Testament the synagogue appears as the centre of religious instruction for the Jewish community. Jesus says: 'I ever taught in synagogues and in the temple, where all the Jews come together.'² It was 'His custom' to visit the synagogue on the Sabbath day. He went about teaching in the synagogues.³ It was also the custom of Paul to begin his work by preaching in the synagogue.⁴

14. The worship of the synagogue was chiefly on the Sabbath, and consisted in the recitation of the 'Shema,' the offering of prayers and benedictions, the reading of selections from the Law and the Prophets, the cantillation of Psalms, and an expository discourse.

Among the various accounts of the preaching of Jesus in the synagogues, there is one which describes Him as reading the selection from the Prophets, and preaching upon the passage.⁵ The scene was doubtless repeated in many of the synagogues of Galilee and Peræa.

The Acts give a sermon preached by Paul in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, 'after the reading of the Law and the Prophets,' in which there is a reference to 'the voices of the Prophets' as 'read every sabbath.'⁶ James also testifies that 'Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath.'⁷ Another name for the synagogue was 'the place of prayer,'⁸ and for the needs of its worshippers many of the later Psalms were written or adapted.⁹ Upon the worship of the synagogue was based the worship of the early Church.

¹ *Vide* Schürer, ii. pp. 357.

² John xviii. 20.

³ Luke iv. 16; Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; Mark i. 39.

⁴ Acts ix. 20; xiii. 14; xiv. 1; xvi. 13; xvii. 2, 10, 17; xviii. 4+.

⁵ Luke iv. 16-22.

⁶ Acts xiii. 15, 27.

⁷ Acts xv. 21.

⁸ Acts xvi. 13; Josephus, *Vita*, 54; Philo, *Vita Mosis*, iii. 27; *vide* Schürer, ii. p. 370.

⁹ *Vide* Briggs, *Commentary on Psalms*, pp. lxxxix. seq.

15. *Synagogue schools existed in the time of Jesus, but little is known concerning them.*

In these schools children were probably taught to read, and possibly to write, the Hebrew language, and to recite passages from the Old Testament and translate them into the Aramaic or spoken language. Jesus meets, in His journeys, with Rabbis all over Galilee and Peræa, as well as in Jerusalem. This makes it evident that in all the larger towns, such as Capernaum and Nazareth, Rabbis were at work giving instruction in the Law.

A tradition recorded that Joshua ben Gamla (Jesus, son of Gamaliel) urged that teachers of children be appointed for every province and every city, and that children go to them from six or seven years of age onward.¹ This prescription involves in its language the existence of such schools long before.²

The elementary school was called 'the House of the Book,' the higher school 'the House of Study.'³ In the lower school the work consisted chiefly in committing to memory, in the higher school in exposition and interpretation. The larger towns like Capernaum probably had higher schools.

Josephus says that at fourteen years of age he had such an accurate knowledge of the Law that he was consulted regarding it by the high priest and the first men of Jerusalem.⁴ Evidently he was consulted on matters of interpretation, and was at that age a graduate of the higher school.

16. *There were certainly Rabbinical schools of a higher order in Jerusalem. Whether they also existed at other places in Palestine, in the time of Jesus as in later times, we do not know.*

It is probable that there was at least one such school

¹ *Baba Bathra*, 21a.

² *Vide* Schürer, ii. p. 353.

³ בֵּית הַמְּרַחֵשׁ ; בֵּית הַפְּנִיר. *Jer. Megilla*, iii. 1 (73d).

⁴ Josephus, *Vita*, 2.

on the Sea of Galilee, possibly at Capernaum ; and there may have been one in Peræa. On one occasion when Jesus was teaching, ‘there were Pharisees and doctors of the Law sitting by, which were come out of every village of Galilee and Judæa and Jerusalem.’¹ The scribes and doctors of Law were *homines literati* ; and their work involved the interpretation of the Scriptures, the teaching of the Scriptures, and the application of the Scriptures to particular cases, especially in questions of law.²

17. The method of study in the time of Jesus was chiefly the method of question and answer, and the committing to memory of passages of Scripture and the sayings of distinguished Rabbis.

The post-Biblical Jewish literature consists of : (1) *Targums*, or paraphrases of the Old Testament, in Aramaic ; (2) early commentaries, in Hebrew ; (3) sayings of the Rabbis in gnomic or haggadic forms, the earliest of these in Hebrew ; (4) discussions as to the interpretation of the Law, in the *Mishna* and *Baraithoth*, in Hebrew, but the later elements in *Gemara* and *Tosephthoth* in Aramaic. These were not written until several generations after they were composed, and were transmitted orally. The *Targums* represent the paraphrastic translation of the Old Testament into Aramaic used in the synagogues of the time of Jesus. The commentaries represent the interpretation taught in the Rabbinical schools. Of the sayings of the Rabbis, the earliest are from the time of Jesus. The discussions in the various layers of the *Talmud* rest upon discussions from the time of Jesus, for the most essential characteristic of the entire Pharisaic-Rabbinical movement is its strong traditionalism, resting on an authoritative tradition from which it was not proper to deviate.³ The whole of

¹ Luke v. 17.

² Schürer, ii. pp. 254 *seq.*

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 231 *seq.*

the Old Testament was lodged in some memories, and the questions and answers of Rabbis in various degrees. The whole of the Mishna and Baraithoth, and other elements of the Targums and Talmuds, were handed down from teacher to pupil orally. The mind was a library in those days when manuscripts were scarce and copies infrequent. The earliest of the sayings of the Rabbis now extant are preserved in the *Pirqe Aboth*.¹ Only a limited amount of their traditional interpretation of the Law has passed over into Christianity.

18. *There were, at the same time, scribes who copied for public or private use the Sacred Writings and other religious documents.*

These professional copyists used the reed pen, ink from an ink horn, and rolls made of skins or papyrus. The Old Testament existed in many copies, each consisting of several rolls. In ancient times each Sacred Writing was inscribed on a separate roll. The first layer of the Hebrew Canon, the Law, was probably written on several skins, eventually on five, corresponding with the five books which gave their name to the Pentateuch. The second layer of the Canon was written on eight rolls. The Minor Prophets were written sometimes on separate rolls, but usually on the same roll, after their number was definitely fixed in the Canon. The third layer of the Canon was not definitely limited among the Jews until the close of the first Christian century.²

The work of the scribe included the teaching and interpretation of the Scriptures.

19. *The study of Theology was essentially the interpretation of the Old Testament by the two chief methods, the Halaka and the Haggada, each of which had its rules as a result of generations of expository study.*³

¹ *Vide Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.*

² *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 130, 170.*

³ *Vide Briggs, ibid., pp. 429 seq.*

The *Halaka* consisted in an exposition and application of the Law, usually in the form of a dialogue between master and pupils, with questions and answers. This method appears in the *Mishna* and the *Beraitha*, and also in the later strata of the *Talmuds*. It was essentially the method of Socrates. The *Haggada* was a more popular method and consisted in teaching by way of illustration, with a use of the forms of historic or imaginative fiction in prose, and of similes, allegories, enigmas, and proverbs in the poetic forms of Hebrew Wisdom.¹ The earliest tract of the *Mishna* contains fine specimens of this method of instruction, which is amply represented in the Old Testament, as well as in the Apocrypha, the *Talmud*, and early Jewish literature.

The *Halaka* method is legal, the *Haggada* illustrative and practical. From these, two other methods of interpretation were subsequently derived: the *Peshat*, or determination of the literal sense, a branch of the *Halaka* method; and the *Sodh*, or determination of the mystical or allegorical sense, a species of the *Haggada*.² Logical and rhetorical rules were devised to regulate the use of these methods with the intention of removing difficulties. The *Sodh* was used in the most ancient times by the Essenes and Zealots, and found expression in the apocalyptic literature of the four centuries in the midst of which the Messiah appeared. The *Peshat* is used in the *Targum* of Onkelos and the Greek version of Aquila, with reference to the Law; but found little representation among the ancient Jews.

20. There are several kinds of literature in the Old Testament; and this variety influenced the Rabbis to use in their teaching essentially the same methods. These were the legal, the gnomic, the poetic, and the prophetic methods.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 14 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 480 seq.

All of these methods were used in the time of Jesus, but by many teachers they were perverted, until the legal method degenerated into casuistry and hairsplitting refinement, the poetic method into idle tales and absurd legends, the prophetic method into strange combinations and fanciful reconstructions.

21. *The Halaka method was used for the interpretation of the Law, usually by logical deduction.*

The Pharisees made use of this method in their discussions with Jesus. Some interpreters limited its use to the exact literal statement in the form called *Peshat*; but there was little of this literalism in the time of Jesus.

22. *The gnomic method is the method of Hebrew Wisdom.*

This method makes use of gnomic distichs, tristichs, tetrastichs, etc., and even poems with strophical organisation. There are fine examples of the gnomic method in the sayings of the Jewish Fathers. One of these must serve as a specimen :

‘There are four characters in those who sit under the wise :
 A sponge, a funnel, a strainer, and a sieve :
 A sponge, which sucks up all ;
 A funnel, which lets in here and lets out there ;
 A strainer, which lets out the wine and keeps back the dregs ;
 A bolt-sieve, which lets out the dust and keeps back the fine flour.’¹

23. *The poetic method is the illustrative, and appears partly in the use of poetry, such as the Psalms and other poetic pieces from the Old Testament ; and partly in the use of prose fiction, such as Ruth, Jonah, Esther, Tobit, and Judith.*

The Old Testament and the Apocrypha contain a large amount of poetry, and also prose works of the imagination. The haggadic literature of the Jews,

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 395, 416 seq.

used chiefly for the instruction of the people in the synagogues and in the schools, was largely composed of such writings. Jewish Rabbis used parables, stories, and legends of every variety of form and content with the utmost freedom, in order to teach doctrine and morals, and even to illustrate and enforce the legal precepts of the Jewish religion.

24. *The prophetic method is based on the Hebrew Prophets.*

This is the method of rhetorical discourse. It was the method of John the Baptist, who was recognised as a prophet ; and it was used by all those endowed with the prophetic gift in the early Church.¹

25. *By the use of these methods in the study of the Scriptures there had originated in the time of Jesus a larger theology, enveloping the theology of the Old Testament.*

To use the Rabbinical precept, this body of doctrine was 'a hedge' about the Law : to use the words of Jesus, it was (1) a making void the Word of God by tradition ; (2) a tithing of mint, anise and cummin, and neglecting the weightier matters of the Law ; (3) an obstruction to those who would enter the kingdom of God.² And yet, on the other hand, it was not entirely without value in that it contained a certain amount of faithful exposition and practical application of the Old Testament, discoverable, however, only by separating the wheat from the chaff, the gold from the dross.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 338 seq.

² Matt. xv. 3-6 ; xxiii. 13, 23-24.

CHAPTER II

JESUS' STUDY OF THEOLOGY

1. *There should be no doubt that Jesus was a great student of Jewish Theology during the thirty years that preceded His entrance upon His ministry.*

The older writers so emphasised the divinity of Christ, that they altogether neglected to study His human nature and its development. For this there is little external but much internal evidence. Modern writers have devoted themselves chiefly to the life of Jesus from the baptism onwards, or to the teachings of Jesus. It is necessary also to consider the environment of Jesus, and His relation to that environment, during the thirty years which preceded His public life. The first thirty years of a man's life determine his whole subsequent career. The development of the human nature of Jesus does not conflict with His divinity.

2. *Joseph was a son of David, the heir to the throne, and as such the inheritor of a great and noble tradition.*

He was a worker in wood, it is true ; but the most famous Rabbis were workers in one trade or another, and such work did not involve a lack of education and culture. St. Paul was a tent-maker, though member of a prominent family, and educated to the highest degree as a Rabbi.

Joseph was a broad-minded man. He would deal with Mary kindly as well as justly.¹ He was careful

¹ Matt. i. 19.

in his observance of Jewish customs and ceremonies, and regular in his attendance on the feasts at Jerusalem.¹ He journeyed to Egypt with his wife and the child Jesus, and spent some months there. Travel in his case, as in that of others, meant an extension of culture. His residence in Nazareth and his occupation as a carpenter brought him into contact with the Greek-speaking population of Galilee. It is therefore probable that he had some acquaintance with the Greek tongue. It has even been suggested that he was a Rabbi. While this is possible, there is no real evidence for or against it.

3. Mary, the mother of Jesus, was a kinswoman of Elisabeth, the wife of the priest Zacharias, whom she was accustomed to visit.² She must have been not only pious but intelligent, and undoubtedly was familiar with the traditions of the Davidic and the priestly lines.

According to the Gospels Mary received a divine revelation,³ which implies her knowledge of Messianic prophecy respecting the Davidic line.⁴ She conceived her son by the theophanic presence and power of the Holy Spirit.⁵

A Christian Hymn, couched in prophetic language, is placed in her mouth in the Gospel of the Infancy. The early date of that Canticle⁶ makes it difficult to suppose that it could have been thus ascribed, if Mary had not been known as the possessor of spiritual power. The Acts indeed includes her among the women present on the Day of Pentecost, who were filled with the divine Spirit in fulfilment of the prediction of Joel;⁷ and she is named among the prophets of the Apostolic Church

¹ Luke ii. 41.

² Luke i. 5 seq.

³ Luke i. 26-38.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 46 seq.

⁵ Luke i. 35; Matt. i. 20.

⁶ Luke i. 46-55; *vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 164 seq.; *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 77 seq.

⁷ Acts i. 14; ii. 1, 4, 16-18.

in more than one early writing.¹ For the story of the birth and childhood of Jesus she is the primary source. Luke repeatedly states that she retained in her memory all the sayings and events connected with the child Jesus, and 'pondered them in her heart.'²

4. The parents of Jesus knew that He was born of the Holy Ghost ; and, although they did not understand the mystery of His birth, they knew that He was called to be a prophet and teacher of the people.

They knew that the child Jesus was from His birth in a special relation to God.³ This being so, and they being what they were, it is evident that they would give Him the very best education that was possible. Josephus speaks for his race when he says : 'We take most pains of all with the instruction of children' ;⁴ and Philo also, when he declares that the Jews are 'instructed in the knowledge of (their laws) from their earliest youth'.⁵ According to Luke the child Jesus 'grew, and waxed strong, becoming full of wisdom : and the grace of God was upon Him'.⁶

5. At twelve years of age Jesus was so absorbed in attendance upon learned Rabbis in Jerusalem, that for three days home and parents were forgotten.

This absorption implies previous preparation, studious habits, and what we would call precocious intellectual interest and ability.

The boy Jesus both asked and answered questions in this assembly of learned doctors, and it is said that 'all that heard Him were amazed at His understanding.' His words to Mary show that He was already conscious that He was the Son of God in a special sense, and was

¹ *Vide* Zscharnack, *Dienst d. Frau in . . . d. christl. Kirche*, pp. 21, 59 *seq.*

² Luke ii. 19, 51.

³ Luke i.-ii. ; Matt. i. 18-25.

⁴ Josephus, *Apion.* i. 12.

⁵ Philo, *Legat. ad Gaium.*, 31 ; *vide* Schürer, ii. ss. 27 ; English ed. pp. 47 *seq.*

⁶ Luke ii. 40.

called to do His Father's business. But His submission to His parents shows that He was also aware that His time had not yet come.¹

*6. Jesus returned to the retirement of Nazareth, where He remained for eighteen years, advancing 'in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men.'*²

These years were doubtless years of devout study, preparatory to the Messianic ministry. The boy who at twelve years of age appeared in the temple so inquiring, so self-contained, so assured of His mission, and so intent upon doing the will of His Father, must have spent those eighteen years in the study of the Sacred Writings, and in all other learning that was accessible to Him. The wisdom of Jesus as manifested in His sayings, His skill in argument as shown in all His discussions with the Pharisees, His wonderful parables, excelling the haggadic teaching of the greatest Rabbis, make it evident that He had made Himself master of all that the Rabbis of His time had to teach Him, and that He easily surpassed them all.

7. Jesus shows a wonderful familiarity with the Old Testament Scriptures.

This enabled Him to discuss triumphantly with the most learned Rabbis of Galilee, Peræa, and Jerusalem. He must have studied those Scriptures thoroughly and deeply. There is no need to explain this acquaintance with the Scriptures by divinity. On one occasion Jesus summed up the whole law in the opening words of the *Shema*, and the ethical teaching of both Law and Prophets in two commands, taken from different codes.³ After His resurrection He gave His disciples a summary

¹ Luke ii. 41-50; *vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, p. 170; *Incarnation of the Lord*, pp. 42 seq.

² Luke ii. 52.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 155 seq.

of the entire Old Testament revelation in its unity, and presented Himself and His kingdom as its central theme.¹ The story of the Temptation illustrates His personal use of the Scriptures as the norm of His own conduct.² His disciples learned from Him the distinctive principles of Scriptural interpretation, which enabled them to avoid the perils of the allegorical and legal methods of the times.

8. Jesus is recognised as a Rabbi by His disciples, by Nicodemus, himself a learned Rabbi of Jerusalem, and by others, both Pharisees and Sadducees; although His methods of teaching were in some respects different from theirs.

Jesus said to His disciples: ‘Ye call me “Teacher” and “Lord”; and ye say well, for so I am.’³ He appeared as a Rabbi among Rabbis. In all the Gospels He is represented as a great teacher. He is compared with the other Rabbis of the time; and He used the methods and the forms of instruction which they used.⁴ He differed from them, indeed, so far as to excite their astonishment; yet some were prepared to say with Nicodemus: ‘Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God.’⁵

9. Jesus had the rare accomplishment of writing.⁶

Some Jews are said to have asked: ‘How knoweth this man learning, having never learned?’ The author of John vii. 15 gives this remark, but does not endorse it. This statement has misled many to the opinion that Jesus was an uneducated peasant. The evidence is all against this idea. He is called a Rabbi, not only by the unlearned, but by other Rabbis.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 441.

² Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12-13; Luke iv. 1-13.

³ John xiii. 13.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 14 *seq.*

⁵ John iii. 2.

⁶ John viii. 6-8.

10. *The familiarity of Jesus with the Old Testament, and His use of it in the synagogue, imply His knowledge of Hebrew. His residence in Galilee, His occupation, and His intercourse with Greeks, favour His knowledge of Greek. He used ordinarily in conversation Aramaic, the language of the native population.*

Luke represents Jesus as reading the pericope of Isaiah lxi. in the synagogue of Nazareth on the Sabbath day.¹ Jesus read the passage in Hebrew, gave an Aramaic translation according to custom, and then expounded and applied it in an Aramaic sermon.

11. *Jesus uses skilfully the Halaka method in His arguments with the Pharisees.*

A considerable portion of the teaching of Jesus is of the nature of Halaka, especially in the Gospels of Mark and John. It is probable that His teaching in the synagogues was chiefly of this kind, as it was an interpretation and application of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In His earlier ministry a large part of His teaching was given in the synagogues. Yet the Halaka preserved for us in Mark and the other Synoptists is chiefly that used in discussions with the Pharisees. In these discussions Jesus employed the method of reasoning of the Rabbis of His time. He thus defeated them with their own weapons, using the method to which they were accustomed and which to them was most convincing.²

This use of Rabbinical logic and methods of argument implies Rabbinical training.

12. *Jesus uses the Haggada method in a wonderful manner in His parables.*

The Haggada is Jesus' own favourite method of teaching, inasmuch as His discourses were in the main

¹ Luke iv. 16 seq.

² Vide Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 25 seq. ; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 437 seq.

addressed to the people. The most striking feature of His teaching, and that which has received the most consideration, is His parables. These are of two kinds : (1) the Parables of the Kingdom, which all belong to the class of enigmas, and need a clue for their interpretation ; (2) the Parables which illustrate the divine love and salvation, and are easy of application. Jesus was the great master of the Haggada method. In His interpretation of prophecy and history He also came into connection with the allegorical method, and it has been claimed that He applies this method with the freedom of a Hellenist. There are several allegories in the Gospel of John, although no parables. In that Gospel there is little teaching of the people, but rather esoteric teaching of the disciples and arguments with the Pharisees.¹

13. Jesus uses constantly the gnomic method of Hebrew Wisdom.

The greater part of the teaching of Jesus, as it appears in Matthew and Luke, is in the gnomic form of Hebrew Wisdom. This was derived by these Gospels for the most part from the *Logia* of Matthew. All of these logia came from Hebrew originals, and show the parallelisms and measures of Hebrew poetry. Jesus was a master of this method also, and gives a greater variety of form than any other sage.²

14. Jesus uses the prophetic method of instruction.

He was not only a Rabbi, but also a prophet ; and therefore His teaching assumes the prophetic form. Even in the Halaka and the Haggada the prophetic element is pre-eminent. But the Gospels contain teach-

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 15 seq. ; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 438 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 20 seq. ; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 416 seq.

ing which finds its precedents not in the methods of the Rabbis, but in those of the Old Testament prophets. The Synoptic Gospels give prophetic discourses, apocalyptic in character, prophetic sayings, predictions and symbolic acts. In the Gospel of John the prophetic element in the teaching of Jesus is especially prominent.¹ This method is that of the prophets of the early Church. Upon it the sermon of the Church is based. It is the method of the evangelist and the revivalist, of St. Francis and St. Dominic.

Thus Jesus adapted His teaching to the various classes of men whom He came to instruct, and used the several methods appropriate to the Rabbinical school, the synagogue, the popular audience, and the individual disciple in his esoteric training.²

15. The use of all the methods known to Jewish scholarship at the time makes it evident that Jesus had studied all these methods and was familiar with their application. Thus in the methods of scholarship, as well as in its substance, He was the most learned Rabbi of His time.

In each one of these methods Jesus excels all the Rabbis of His own and of subsequent times. Formerly this superiority was ascribed to His divine wisdom, but in our day His divinity is not invoked to explain His actions as a man. We must therefore attribute His superiority in human wisdom, both in form and substance, to His own study in preparation for His work.

16. Jesus, moreover, was original, both in the method and in the substance of His teaching.

Jesus shows wondrous grasp, insight, and foresight—the greatest endowments of scholarship. It is evident that He had studied more widely and deeply than any Rabbi of the age. In His interpretation of Scripture

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 29 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 441 seq.

He does not hesitate to contrast His own with the traditional interpretation, or to add His teaching to the ancient revelation, or even to substitute one higher still. The Rabbis interpreted the Old Testament to accord with the traditions of the elders, Jesus interpreted it to accord with the mind of God. His own Word He presents as an ethical norm, which determines entrance into the kingdom of God. It is the test of wisdom and folly, of life and death. The word of Jesus has the same normative authority as the will of God. It is indeed the last and highest expression of the will of God.¹

17. *Jesus impressed His hearers with the originality of His method, in not appealing to traditional authority but speaking with authority from a firm and assured grasp of the truth itself.*

The people were astonished at the teaching of Jesus, because He taught them 'as having authority,'² and made no appeal to traditional authority as did the scribes. The chief priests and the scribes demanded to know who gave Him His authority.³ The Pharisees, seeking to ensnare Him in His talk, were yet compelled to acknowledge : ' Teacher, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, and carest not for any one ; for thou regardest not the person of men.'⁴ The disciples of Jesus, when asked whether they would leave Him, replied through Peter, their spokesman : ' Lord, to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life.'⁵

18. *The substance of the teaching of Jesus was a transformation, fulfilment, and enlargement of the Theology of the Old Testament, giving indeed a New Testament, and making Him the world's greatest teacher.*

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 47 seq.

² Matt. vii. 28-29 ; Mark i. 22.

⁴ Matt. xxii. 16.

³ Luke xx. 1-2.

⁵ John vi. 68.

Jesus was charged with teaching His disciples to violate the Law ; but He said that He had come to fulfil it, and that the Law and the Prophets would be fulfilled, not abrogated. There is no such antithesis between the Old Testament and the New as many moderns hold, basing themselves on a misinterpretation of the attitude of St. Paul toward the Jewish Christians. There is in the New Testament no mere rehashing of the Old Testament, as Judaisers would have it. There is no explaining away of the Old Testament by allegorical methods, as the Alexandrians would have it. The Old Testament in the teaching of Jesus passes over into a New Testament, which is the most natural, appropriate, harmonious fulfilment of the Old, and was so designed to be from the beginning.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY BY THE APOSTLES

1. *Jesus gathered about Him gradually a large body of disciples, out of which He selected twelve to be with Him in His journeys and receive special preparation for the work to which He had called them.*

A careful study of the Gospels shows that there was a natural and simple development in the calling, training, and sending forth of the twelve apostles by Jesus during His life on earth. The Synoptic narrative tells of the call of the four fishermen, Simon and Andrew, James and John, and of Matthew the publican. The narrative of John tells of the call of Andrew and Simon, Philip and Nathanael, and a fifth, probably John. How and when the others among the Twelve were called by Jesus we are not told. But it was not long before a group of twelve was selected to be the companions of Jesus in His ministry.¹ This following of Jesus involved the abandonment of home, family, and property, and a share in His sufferings, the endurance of hunger and cold, sorrow and reproach. At the installation of the Twelve Jesus gave them the Sermon on the Mount, in which He called them blessed because of their voluntary renunciation of all things in order to follow Him. The list of the Twelve gives the names in pairs, because these disciples were sent forth in pairs on their missions.²

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 34 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 224 seq.

The list is as follows :¹ (1) Simon and Andrew, (2) James and John, (3) Philip and Bartholomew (Nathanael), (4) Thomas and Matthew, (5) James bar Alphæus (Mary), and Lebbæus=Thaddæus=Judas, his brother, (6) Simon the Canaanite, or Zealot, and Judas Iscariot.²

2. These disciples were all pious Jews. Inasmuch as they were selected by Jesus to be teachers and preachers, we may conclude that they already had special qualifications for such work.

Jesus' choice of them to be His companions, assistants, and representatives implies that they had ability and intellectual acquirements as well as piety. The fact that four of them were fishermen, and one a publican, does not militate against this. Jesus saw that they could be made 'fishers of men.'³

3. These pious Jews had doubtless the elementary Jewish education, and some of them probably a higher education.

It is probable that James and John, Philip, Nathanael and Thomas, at least, had received an education somewhat higher than the common one.⁴ Philip and Nathanael were students of Scripture. John seems to have been acquainted with the high priest, and must therefore have been a man of some position.⁵ Early in His ministry Jesus preached and baptized for a time in the neighbourhood of the Baptist, and the disciples of Jesus were with Him, serving as His assistants.⁶ Indeed, it was not Jesus who baptized, but His disciples. His first disciples therefore began very soon to assist Him in His ministry, and must have been qualified for such service.

¹ *Vide* Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 16-19; Luke vi. 13-16; Acts i. 13.

² *Vide* Briggs, 'The Apostolic Commission,' in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, i.

³ Mark i. 17. ⁴ *Vide* Bruce, *Training of the Twelve*, pp. 6 seq.

⁵ John i. 45 seq.; John xviii. 15-16. ⁶ John iii. 22-30; iv. 1.

4. At least five of these Twelve, probably six, had been disciples of John the Baptist, and had been trained by him in his doctrines and methods.

Andrew and Simon, Philip and Nathanael, were all with John the Baptist at the time that he pointed out Jesus to his disciples as the Messiah. The disciple whose name is not given, and who was one of the two that followed Jesus as 'the Lamb of God,' was in all probability John. It is therefore likely that his brother James, who is associated with him in the Gospels on various occasions, was also a disciple of the Baptist. All of these men had received the baptism of repentance and were actively engaged in preparation for the coming of the Messiah, in accordance with the teaching of their master.

5. All the Twelve had the unique privilege of being trained by Jesus Himself.

They were all constantly with Him for some months of study and preparation. Jesus regarded them as given to Him by the Father. He made them all His friends, and entrusted to them His teaching.¹ One of those thus privileged testified that, 'having loved His own which were in the world (Jesus) loved them unto the end.'²

6. The preparation of the Twelve for their ministry was partly in form and method, partly in substance and doctrine.

The Twelve were trained as prophets, priests, and kings of the kingdom of God by the Messiah Himself. In their training the theoretical and the practical were combined. They were taught by example as well as precept, and were given opportunity to practise what they learned in a ministry of assistance. They were shown that there is an ethical relation in the teaching of

¹ John xv. 15; xvii. 6, 8.

² John xiii. 1.

Jesus between knowing and doing, and that the knowledge of the higher teaching depends upon the practice of the lower.¹ They were warned against the Pharisees as teachers that 'say and do not.'²

7. The Twelve were instructed by Jesus in all that is found recorded in the Synoptic Gospels, and much that is contained in the Gospel of John.

All of this they learned from the lips of the great Teacher, not merely by hearsay or tradition, and therefore it must have made a deeper impression upon them than ordinary teaching. The disciples of Jesus were devoted pupils, and reproduced the teaching of their Master.

8. They also learned much that is not recorded in the Gospels.

The instruction of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels is chiefly ethical, the institutional and the doctrinal being in the background. We cannot explain the apostolic teaching and organisation of the Church, unless we suppose that a considerable amount of the teaching of Jesus of that kind was recorded only in the minds of the apostles, and not committed to writing. According to John xxi. 25, if all that Jesus did and said 'should be written every one, . . . even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written.'

The teaching of Jesus preserved by the Synoptists is chiefly ethical, and based on the Old Testament. That which is new in the teaching of Jesus in doctrines of faith, is for the most part connected with Himself and His saving acts ; and this teaching He could not give in His lifetime, save in parables and in esoteric teaching, or by other indirect methods. So also in matters of institution. It is impossible to build Christian institu-

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 42 seq.

² Matt. xxiii. 3.

tions upon the Gospels. If based upon the teaching of Jesus, it must be built upon teaching not recorded in the Gospels.

9. One of the most important things learned by the Twelve from Jesus was His method of teaching and preaching.

We may be sure that the Twelve, like all enthusiastic disciples, were faithful to the methods of their Master. They and their disciples use His methods in the teaching preserved in the New Testament, while differing among themselves as to the tendencies of their thought. Peter, James, Jude, Matthew, and Mark incline to use the Haggada method ; Stephen, Paul, and Luke the more learned Halaka method ; John and the author of the Hebrews the Sodh or allegorical method ; but in them all the methods of the Lord Jesus prevail.¹

10. After several months of preparation, the Twelve were sent forth in pairs throughout Galilee to teach and to preach as Jesus had done.

The Twelve taught the Master's doctrine, and used the Master's methods, and thus they learned by practice as well as by precept. To their theoretical training by teaching and example was now added a practical experience in teaching and in the use of the methods of Jesus. They were sent to preach repentance and the coming of the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick ; thus combining with their preaching a ministry of mercy in imitation of their Master. They were sent forth in pairs to conduct missions throughout Galilee, and this mission probably continued until shortly before the last journey of Jesus to Jerusalem. But it is probable that one of these pairs always remained with Jesus ; at one time John and James, at another Andrew and Peter, at another Matthew and Thomas. In sending forth the

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 443.

Twelve, Jesus gave them a solemn charge, in which He commissioned them to do what He Himself was doing : to preach the advent of the kingdom, and to seek and to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel. They were to make no provision for their journey, but were to go forth in poverty. They were not to be deterred by persecution, and were to leave no hostile community without warning.¹

11. Jesus, after sending forth the Twelve, continued His instruction of other disciples ; then selected Seventy, and sent them forth to work in Peræa and Judæa.

Although the sending forth of the Seventy is reported only by Luke, there is no good reason to doubt it, for Luke is an accurate writer. Luke alone reports the Peræan ministry ; the other Evangelists give but slight allusions to it.² The Seventy were to do in Peræa and Southern Palestine what the Twelve did in Galilee. The group of logia connected with the sending forth of the Twelve in Matthew is evidently composed of logia spoken on more than one occasion ; indeed, a combination of Peræan with Galilean logia.³ This is an indirect evidence of a double mission of the disciples of Jesus. These Seventy disciples were apostolic men, who, like the Twelve, had devoted themselves absolutely and completely to the service of Jesus, in response to a special call from Jesus Himself. Other disciples also received, from time to time, the apostolic call ; but Jesus did not, so far as it appears, send forth during His ministry any other groups of apostles save the Twelve and the Seventy.⁴

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, p. 224 ; *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, chap. iii. ; 'Apostolic Commission,' in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, i.

² *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 31 seq.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, pp. 238 seq.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Ethical Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 226 seq.

12. *After the return of both the Twelve and the Seventy, they were again for some time under the instruction of the Master. They went with Him through Passion week in Jerusalem, saw Him crucified, and saw the risen Christ. All these events, the greatest and most important in all history, must have impressed them to a wonderful degree, and wrought a transformation in their religious experience.*

This period of time was short, but contained events of the utmost importance, bringing to the disciples a knowledge of the person and the saving acts of Jesus, for which all that preceded had been a preparation. The teaching of the apostles is just the interpretation of those saving acts, and of the person of Jesus as Messiah, Son of God, and Saviour.¹

13. *The Master instructed the disciples after His resurrection, explained to them the significance of all that had transpired, and commissioned them to organise and teach His Church.*

The four Gospels and the Acts all give post-resurrection discourses, and there is no sound reason to doubt that such teaching was given by Jesus after His resurrection. The passages are not to be disposed of on any sound principle, whether of the Lower or of the Higher Criticism, but only on those of a speculative historical criticism, which makes that which seems probable to the individual the test. The Gospels all represent that Jesus gave a final commission to the Twelve. Luke tells us that Jesus gave His disciples full instruction respecting His fulfilment of the Messianic predictions of the Old Testament. Without some such instruction it is difficult to explain the preaching of the Twelve as reported in the Acts.

No inconsiderable portion of the teaching of Jesus may have been given after the resurrection. It is upon the experiences of those forty days, as well as upon the

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 1 seq., 38 seq.

previous ministry of Jesus, that the faith and the life of the Apostolic Church were grounded.¹

14. *The disciples of Jesus were finally endowed with power from on high by the theophanic descent of the divine Spirit to organise and to instruct the Church.*

Jesus had promised His disciples :

‘ I will pray the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that He may be with you for ever, (even) the Spirit of truth. . . . Ye know Him ; for He abideth with you, and shall be in you. . . . He shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you. . . . He shall bear witness of me. . . . I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth ; . . . and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come. He shall glorify me : for He shall take of mine, and shall declare (it) unto you.’²

This promise was fulfilled to the apostles and their associates, who were endowed by the Holy Spirit with charisms suited to their commission, both by external theophanic manifestation on the Day of Pentecost, and subsequently by His internal presence and guidance.

15. *The Twelve did in fact organise the Church, and instruct the ministry ordained by them as Jesus commissioned them. The Book of Acts gives some account of the work of the Twelve in the Jerusalem Church, but for the most part their work has no record in history.*

The apostolic commission was fulfilled by the apostles and their successors. That commission as given by Jesus was :

‘ All authority hath been given unto me.
Go ye therefore into all the earth,
And make disciples of all nations ;
Baptize them into my name,
And teach them to keep my commands ;
And I am with you unto the End.’³

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 110 seq.

² John xiv. 16-17, 26 ; xv. 26 ; xvi. 12-14.

³ Matt. xxviii. 18-20 ; *vide* Briggs, ‘Apostolic Commission’ in *Studies in Honour of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 10.

Since Jesus selected the Twelve, trained them, endowed them with the divine Spirit, and commissioned them to establish His Church in the world, we can only conclude that they were better qualified than any other men to do this work, and we must suppose that they actually accomplished the work which He gave them to do. Indeed, we cannot explain the Church of the second century, unless we suppose that other and still more powerful influences than that of St. Paul were at work during the first century, for it is evident that the Church of the second century was not Pauline.

16. The Twelve and the Seventy used the methods of instruction of Jesus, especially the prophetic method and the Halaka. The Epistle of James uses the gnomic method.

The Twelve and the Seventy have left us little in the form of literature, and that little is all in the Greek language and the forms of Greek literature. If we had any of it in Hebrew, we should doubtless find more resemblance to the methods of Jesus. Nevertheless, it is evident from these writings that they used the methods of Jesus rather than those of the Greeks.¹ It is altogether probable that St. Matthew, as well as St. James, made use of the gnomic method ; although we have nothing from his pen but his collection of the gnomic Wisdom of Jesus. Other disciples, such as Thomas, probably used the same method. The Book of Acts gives only discourses, which, in the very nature of the case, would be prophetic or halakistic. Luke derived his material as to the teaching of the Twelve chiefly from the Jerusalem source, probably written by Mark. But Mark in his Gospel gives us but few of the gnomes of Jesus, and little of His Haggada ; and some of this comes from the second and third additions to the Gospel. He would not be likely to give much teaching of this kind in his brief record of apostolic preaching. We are

¹ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 443 seq.*

left therefore to the probabilities of the situation. These are that the immediate disciples of Jesus, having been trained by Him in His methods of teaching, would be most likely to use them.

17. The teachings and labours of the Twelve and the Seventy, though left without record in literature, were none the less fruitful in the Apostolic Church, which they established.

If the Twelve and the Seventy carried out the commission given by Jesus Himself, they must have taught His teaching, and used His methods all over Palestine after His resurrection, and in other parts of the world. That which they taught is to be seen in the organisation of the Church of the second century, and in the apostolic teaching handed down in their traditions. We are inclined to give St. Paul too great credit for the establishment of Christianity in the world. But in fact it was St. Peter and the Twelve, and their disciples, who established the Church in Jerusalem and all over Palestine ; yes, in Samaria, the Phœnician and Philistine coasts, in Antioch, and in Rome. St. Paul builds on the work of the Twelve, who preceded him in the ministry by some years.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK AND ROMAN EDUCATION IN THE
APOSTOLIC AGE

1. *The last century before Christ and the first of the Christian era constitute the golden age of Greco-Roman scholarship.*

Among the great writers of this period were the philosophers and moralists Philo, Seneca, Epictetus, and Plutarch; the poets Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Martial, and Juvenal; the historians Sallust, Livy, Strabo, Cæsar, Tacitus, and Josephus; the orators and rhetoricians Cicero, Quintilian, and Dion Chrysostom; and the scholars and critics Varro, Probus, Pliny, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Greek scholars carefully preserved 'the varied stores of ancient learning.' Latin writers produced original work, but 'founded mainly on Greek models.'¹ This was important to Christianity as affecting its environment.

2. *There was a common method of education all over the Greek and Roman world.*

There were three grades of schools in the Roman Empire at this time: the grammar school, the rhetorical school, and the university. (a) The grammar school corresponded with our common school, and was attended

¹ Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 143, 169.

by pupils from the ages of seven to fourteen. These schools were

‘of two types ; the one for the teaching of the Greek language, the other for the Latin language. . . . The Latin Grammar Schools at least were to be found in every city in the empire, and remained as one of the most persistent institutions of the old Pagan civilisation until the overthrow of Roman culture by the barbarians. . . . In the grammatical school the object was to give a mastery of the language, a correctness of expression in reading, in writing, and in speaking, and to do this through a familiarity with the best Greek and Latin authors. . . . It is certain that to some extent mathematics, music, and rudimentary dialectics were introduced into the grammar schools. . . . This combination of function continued, especially in smaller communities, late into imperial times.’¹

(b) The rhetorical school was attended usually, from the age of fourteen upwards, by the wealthy or more ambitious students. The purpose of this school was to prepare the student for public life by training in literature, composition, public speaking, and good manners. Most cities had such schools.

Quintilian complains :

‘The rhetoricians, especially our own, have relinquished a part of their duties, and . . . the grammarians have appropriated what does not belong to them. . . . Let grammar know its own boundaries ; . . . for, though but weak at its source, yet, having gained strength from the poets and historians, it now flows on in a full channel ; since, besides the art of speaking correctly, . . . it has engrossed the study of almost all the highest departments of learning.’²

(c) The university gave opportunity for special training in the higher branches of knowledge. Here philosophy and criticism were the chief studies. The great universities were those of Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamon in Asia Minor, Antioch in Syria, Athens in

¹ Monroe, *History of Education*, pp. 198 seq.

² Watson, *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory*, ii. 1, 2.

Greece, Rome in Italy. There were also smaller universities at Tarsus in Cilicia, and elsewhere.

According to Sandys,¹ Athens 'continued to be frequented as a school of philosophy.' 'The scholars of Alexandria were . . . mainly but not exclusively concerned with the verbal criticism of the Greek poets.' 'The school of Pergamon found room for a larger variety of scholarly studies,' and included in its curriculum, together with grammar and literary criticism, the philosophy of the Stoics, chronology, topography, the study of inscriptions, art, and the history of art.

The university of Rome had its origin in the founding of a library in the Temple of Peace by Vespasian (69-79 A.D.). Monroe says :

'Under Hadrian (117-138 A.D.) and the later emperors interested in literature and education, this was developed into a definite institution termed the *Athenaeum*, though it resembled more the university at Alexandria. Following the influence of this institution and the practical genius of the Romans, the university gave more attention to law and medicine than to philosophy. The liberal arts, especially grammar and rhetoric, were fully represented both in the Latin and in the Greek languages. Later teachers of architecture, mathematics, and mechanics were appointed by the emperors—at least by Alexander Severus. These lines of instruction represented the entire work of the university.'²

To these three grades of schools two others may be added: the *elementary* and the *professional* school.

(d) *The School of the Ludimagister* 'never attempted to give more than the merest rudiments of the arts of reading, writing, and calculation.' Among the Romans they were very common; but 'this phase of education, being non-Grecian, never received any general attention, nor such teachers—often mere slaves—any public esteem.'³

¹ Sandys, i. pp. 144, 163 *seq.*

² Monroe, *History of Education*, pp. 197 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*

(e) Professional schools existed for the study of law and medicine. Beirut had a great law school as well as Rome. Gibbon says that 'all the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. . . . The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the East and West; but the most famous school was that of Berytus. . . . After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces, in search of fortune and honours.'¹

There was a great medical school at Alexandria with rival parties, the Empirical and the Methodist. Pergamon and Rome were also important centres of medical instruction in the first Christian century. Asclepiades and Celsus, 'the Cicero of medicine,' were among the famous physicians of Rome. The celebrated Galen, of the second Christian century, was born at Pergamon, was trained in Alexandria, and practised at Rome.

3. The studies necessary for education in Greece, in the early times, were the three: grammar, music, and gymnastics. Seneca raises this number to five, omitting gymnastics, and adding arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. In Varro's work these expand to seven, logic and rhetoric being separated from grammar.

The Greeks described the educated man as one who had been trained in the circle of knowledge. The Latin equivalent is given by Quintilian: 'Orbis ille doctrinae quem Graeci ἐγκύκλιον παιδείαν vocant.'² This circle of knowledge consisted, at an early date, of grammar, music and gymnastics. Under grammar was included reading, writing, literature, and rhetoric, begun in the grammar schools and carried higher in the rhetorical schools.

¹ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 121 seq.

² Quintilian, *Instit.*, I. x. 1.

These three branches of study had become five in the time of Seneca, *i.e.* grammar,¹ music, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy; grammar having still the same extended meaning. Varro, the great grammarian and teacher of the first century before Christ (116-27 B.C.), wrote an encyclopædia embracing nine disciplines. To the five given by Seneca he added two by distinguishing logic and rhetoric from grammar. The seven thus obtained became fixed in the second Christian century, and as the trivium and quadrivium they dominated education for fifteen hundred years. To these Varro adds two more, the professional studies of medicine and architecture. He omits law and philosophy; not that he ignores them, but that he does not include them in his work.

The three, the five, or the seven studies, in the several stages of classification, constituted those which were necessary for an educated man.

The greatest grammarian and teacher of rhetoric in the first Christian century was Quintilian (35-95 A.D.), whose *Institutio Oratoria* became the classic basis for education, and so remained all through the early and the Middle Ages down to the Reformation. Even Erasmus says of him: 'It seems a mere impertinence in me to handle afresh a subject which has been made so conspicuously his own by the great Quintilian.'²

4. The chief masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature had been composed before the middle of the first Christian century, constituting a literature in Greek and Latin much more extensive than that of the Hebrews.

These masterpieces were the study of the pupils in the grammar and rhetorical schools. In the rhetorical schools, and still more in the universities, they were

¹ Seneca, *Ep.* 88.

² Erasmus, *De ratione studii*, ss. 5; *vide* Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, p. 166.

interpreted in accordance with the principles laid down by Plato and Aristotle, and the great grammarians and rhetoricians. Textual and literary criticism was cultivated in the study of this literature.

There was a decline in classical scholarship in the second Christian century. Already in the first century, according to Sandys, grammatical studies had become 'more narrow' than in the last century of the republic.

'The preparation of practical manuals for educational purposes (had) superseded the scientific and learned labours of a Varro. . . . The second century, in which Suetonius with all his varied learning must be regarded as little more than a minor counterpart of Varro, was in matters of scholarship an age of epitomes and compilations. Learning became fashionable, but erudition often lapsed into triviality, and the ancient classics were ransacked for phrases which ill assorted with the style of the time.'¹

5. The great schools of Greek philosophy had long been in existence. Socrates (469-399 B.C.), Plato (420-348 B.C.), and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) were long past. They were familiar to Greek and Roman scholarship, as they have ever been to scholars since. So also the lesser schools of Pythagoras (c. 580-500 B.C.), Zeno (364-263 B.C.), Epicurus (341-270 B.C.), and Pyrrhon (c. 360-270 B.C.) had long been established.

In the centuries in which Christianity originated, the philosophic schools were all, more or less, modifications of the older schools. There was the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of Philo († c. 40 A.D.), a compound of Platonism with Jewish Wisdom; and that of the Neo-Pythagorean Apollonius of Tyana, in the time of Nero. There were the eclectic Platonists, Theon of Smyrna and Plutarch of Chaeronea, in the time of Trajan, and Galen († c. 200), all emphasising the divine transcendence; the New Stoics, Seneca (3-65 A.D.), teacher

¹ Sandys, i. p. 214.

of Nero, Epictetus of the time of Domitian, Marcus Aurelius, and others; the real Eclectics like Cicero, and the newer Sceptics and Epicureans. In the second Christian century there was the greatest confusion in philosophy, only paralleled in our own days.

Justin Martyr tells us,¹ in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, how he went from one philosopher to another in his search for the true God—from a Stoic to a Peripatetic, from a Pythagorean to a Platonist—and how he was finally converted by a venerable Christian. Although he writes of the situation that existed in the early second century, he describes what was equally true of the first century A.D., wherever St. Paul and his associates carried on their missions.

Whatever differences there may have been in the study of philosophy, logic had by that time been thoroughly elaborated in those principles and methods which have persisted until the present day. We are still Greek in our logic.

6. The study of theology among the Greeks and Romans coincided on the doctrinal side with the study of philosophy. On the institutional side it was given over to the priests of the various religions, local or general, whose business it was to instruct the people in religious rites and ceremonies, and to conduct these themselves.

There is a profound truth in the saying of Clement of Alexandria, that Greek philosophy was a preparation for Christ, as was the law of Moses. It was, indeed, necessary for the religion of Christ to take on the robes of Greek philosophy in order to conquer the Greek world. It is the fashion to exaggerate that influence, as though it had not only transformed but changed the substance of the Christian religion. But in fact all that Christianity assumed from Greek philosophy was method, literary

¹ Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 2-8.

form, and logical principles of construction, which, to no appreciable degree, affected the sacred substance of Christianity as given by Jesus Christ and His apostles.

7. Roman law was also an important preparation for Christianity, especially in its work for the Roman world. The foundations of Roman law had long been laid, and its principles were taught by learned lawyers, especially in Rome and in the law school at Beirut.

This influence was chiefly felt on the institutional side of Christianity, and that almost exclusively in the government and discipline of the Church. It was necessary for the Church to assume, to some extent, the forms of Roman law in order to exist in the Roman Empire, and to evade, so far as possible, its intolerance. But this appropriation did not impair the substance of Christianity.

8. Medicine and the fine arts had also their part to play in early Christianity. Both of these disciplines were well advanced in apostolic times.

St. Luke represents the medical faculty among the early Christian teachers, as is evident not only from the reference of St. Paul to 'the beloved physician,'¹ but also from the internal evidence of the Lukan writings.

The care of the sick formed an important part of pastoral cure from the earliest times. There were many in the ministry of the early Church who had at least a practical knowledge of the art of healing. The deacon had need of it, so also had the solitary. The monastery required a physician among its inmates. Basil was not the only bishop with a theoretical knowledge of medicine. His fellow-student Gregory rivalled him in this branch of learning, if in no other.² In later times also eager

¹ Col. iv. 14.

² *Vide* p. 141.

students added medicine, or law, or both, to the study of theology.

The influence of the fine arts upon the writings of the New Testament, especially the Book of Revelation, has been shown by Piper.¹ They were also influential in the development of the cultus, and in various departments of practical theology.

¹ Piper, *Einleitung in die Monumentale Theologie*, pp. 13 *seq.*, 17 *seq.*, 21 *seq.*

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY BY ST. PAUL AND
HIS ASSOCIATES

1. *The Apostolic Church had a large number of teachers who had not been trained by Jesus.*

Some of these had received chiefly a Jewish training, others a training partly Jewish and partly Greek. Few had an education predominantly Greek.

2. *St. Mark was a Jew of Jerusalem. His mother's house was a meeting place for Christians ;¹ and he himself was a cousin of St. Barnabas,² and especially attached to St. Peter. His Gospel was probably written originally in Hebrew.*

Mark's family being well-to-do and resident in Jerusalem, it is probable that he, like St. Paul, had received Rabbinical training. His Gospel and his work show that he was an educated man. Whether it was he who translated his Gospel into Greek, or some one else, we do not know. He must have been familiar with Greek, for he accompanied St. Paul and St. Barnabas in their missions to the Greek world, and finally went to Rome. He shows no evidence, however, of Greek culture, beyond what any scholarly man would imbibe from an intercourse with Greeks in different parts of the Roman Empire, extending through many years. He was a link between St. Peter and St. Paul.

¹ Acts xii. 12, 25.

² Col. iv. 10.

3. St. Barnabas was a Levite born in Cyprus. He became a Christian prophet at Jerusalem, and was sent forth by the Church of Antioch as an apostle. His point of view was intermediate between St. Peter's and St. Paul's.

It is probable that Barnabas received his early education in Cyprus, and his later training in the Rabbinical school at Jerusalem. He was a man of culture and position, and owned property in Jerusalem, which he sold for the benefit of poor Christians.¹ He seems to have had an acquaintance with Saul of Tarsus, for he introduced him to the apostles.² It is not certain whether this acquaintance dates from joint study in Tarsus, or in the Rabbinical school at Jerusalem, probably the latter. The apostles gave to Barnabas his name of *Son of Exhortation*,³ evidently because of his power as a prophetic teacher. The Church of Antioch ordained him, together with St. Paul, as an apostle for missions in Cyprus and Asia Minor. After working in fellowship for some years, first in Antioch and then on their foreign missions, Paul and Barnabas agreed to separate and carry on their work apart.⁴ It is possible that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by Barnabas; but the so-called Epistle of Barnabas is pseudepigraphic, or else from another of that name, an Alexandrian, as many think.

4. The greatest influence in apostolic Christianity, apart from St. Peter and St. John, the chiefs of the Twelve, was Paul of Tarsus.

St. Paul was born in Tarsus of Cilicia, where he lived in early life. There is no evidence that he received any education in Greek schools. His father was a Pharisee,⁵ and would therefore have kept him in Jewish schools; and yet the Greek language and literature certainly had

¹ Acts iv. 37.

² Acts ix. 27.

³ Acts iv. 36; xi. 22-24; xiii. 1-2; xv. 35.

⁴ Acts xv. 37-40.

⁵ Acts xxiii. 6.

influence upon him, and it is evident that he knew something of Greek literature, Greek philosophy, and Greek methods of speech and writing. He uses the Greek language with facility, and yet not in the best rhetorical style. His logic and rhetoric are Hebrew, not Greek. He uses the Haggada and Halaka, as well as the prophetic methods of instruction. The gnomic method he does not use, although his rhetoric at times is so poetic that it is possible to arrange it in the parallelisms of Hebrew poetry. With Greek literature he shows no familiarity. He quotes three minor poets : Cleanthes, the Stoic of Mysia, or Aratus of Cilicia,¹ Menander,² and Epimenides ;³ but considering the extent of his writings this number of quotations is small. To Greek philosophy he seems rather hostile. Epicureans and Stoics took part in his discussions at Athens,⁴ and with them he seems to have come into conflict, but no other schools are mentioned either in his Epistles or in the Book of Acts.

5. St. Paul was also a Roman citizen, and as such influenced by Roman methods of law and administration.

St. Paul shows himself familiar with Roman law and its administration, when he appears before Roman courts to argue in defence of Christianity and of himself. It is evident that he knew the principles of law. The fundamental principles are the same in Jewish and Roman as in all other kinds of law, yet St. Paul seems to have known something of Roman as distinct from Jewish law. It is altogether improbable, however, that he had received a legal training. His knowledge of law was acquired by special study, made necessary by his frequent appearance in courts of law.

¹ Acts xvii. 28.

³ Titus i. 12.

² 1 Cor. xv. 33.

⁴ Acts xvii. 18.

6. Above all, St. Paul was a Pharisee, and received the highest training that a Pharisee could have, at Jerusalem.

Paul, in his own words, was brought up in Jerusalem 'at the feet of Gamaliel,' the greatest Rabbi of the time, and 'instructed according to the strict manner of the law of (his) fathers, being zealous for God.'¹

To him was entrusted the task of overcoming Christian teachers by debate in the synagogue, and of pursuing them to Syrian cities.² He had 'advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of (his) own age among (his) countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of (his) fathers,' and 'as touching the righteousness which is in the Law,' he was 'found blameless.'³

7. Thus Paul combined in himself to a remarkable extent the Roman, Greek, and Jewish elements, which were necessary to make him the great apostle to the Greek and Roman world.

He had a comprehensive mind, and was the greatest theologian of the apostolic Church, chosen by the risen and glorified Lord to be the great teacher of primitive Christianity, 'to make all men see what is the dispensation of the mystery' of Christ, and 'that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs (with the Jews) and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus.'⁴

8. St. Paul, after his conversion by the immediate call of the risen and glorified Christ, spent three years of study in Arabia before undertaking the great work given him to do by his Lord.

Paul himself gives three years for the sojourn in Arabia.⁵ They were in all probability spent in private study, which was necessary, in order that he might overcome his Pharisaic prejudices and reconcile for

¹ Acts xxii. 3.

² Acts ix. 1-2; xxii. 4-5; xxvi. 9-12.

³ Gal. i. 14; Phil. iii. 5-6.

⁴ Eph. iii. 1-12.

⁵ Gal. i. 18.

himself the Law and the Gospel. This reconciliation is the great principle of his teaching.¹

9. St. Paul gathered about him a group of disciples who went with him on his missionary journeys.

St. Paul chose from among his converts men of ability to accompany him on his journeys, to act as his messengers and representatives, and to assist him in his preaching and teaching. He used the same methods of theoretical and practical training that Jesus had used with His disciples.

10. Silas, Timothy, and Titus were all well-trained men, selected by Paul himself, and eventually commissioned by him with apostolic authority over the churches.

Silas, or Silvanus, was a prophet sent by the Church of Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch with the decision of the Council of Jerusalem.² He became a companion of Paul on the missionary journey which he undertook soon afterwards. He was Paul's associate and representative to the churches of Macedonia and Greece, and doubtless had some Greek training. His name appears with that of Timothy in the salutations of Paul's Letters to the Thessalonians.

Timothy was the favourite disciple and companion of Paul, and his name is joined with that of the apostle in six of his Epistles, namely : 1 and 2 Thessalonians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians. Two of the letters of Paul are addressed to him. Timothy was from Derbe or Lystra. His father was a Greek, his mother a Jewess. He was circumcised by Paul himself.³ According to 2 Timothy,⁴ he had been trained in the Jewish Scriptures from childhood, and his mother Eunice and his grandmother Lois had preceded him in the acceptance of the Christian faith. How far he had

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 73 seq.

² *Acts* xv. 22-40.

³ *Acts* xvi. 1-3.

⁴ *2 Tim.* i. 5 ; iii. 15.

received from his father a Greek education we have no means of knowing.

Titus was of Greek parentage, and was never circumcised.¹ Whatever education he had must have been Greek. He was probably a native of Antioch, and soon became a helper of St. Paul in his missions. He is probably the author of the *We* sections in the *Acts*, and that is the reason that his name is not mentioned in that book. An Epistle is directed to him, and he was entrusted with the care of the church of Crete.

11. Luke was a physician at Rome, and represents in the New Testament the beginning of Church history.

It is evident from his writings that Luke was a man of culture and of real ability as an historian. He gives evidence of a knowledge of Greek methods of historicity, and also of medicine. He must have had a Greek education. He was 'the beloved physician' of the apostle Paul, and was with him in Rome when he wrote to the Colossians, and again when he wrote to Timothy.²

12. Apollos was an Alexandrian Jew, and introduced into the Church the Alexandrian type of religion.

He was doubtless trained in the schools of Alexandria. He is described in the *Acts* as 'a learned man,' 'mighty in the Scriptures,' and 'fervent in spirit.' In his ministry in Greece he was remarkably successful, for 'he helped much through grace them which had believed,' and 'powerfully confuted the Jews, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.'³ The Epistle to the Hebrews, whether written by him or by a kindred spirit, represents also the Alexandrian school of thought, especially in the use of the allegorical method of interpretation.⁴

¹ Gal. ii. 1-3.

² Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11.

³ Acts xviii. 24-28.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 434 seq., 444 seq.

13. *St. Paul has left us quite a full record of his teaching and his method in his Epistles.*

He was the great theologian of the Christian Church, and his influence has been felt especially through his writings. These are for the most part familiar letters to friends and beloved churches. As such they preserve the substance of his teaching, and at the same time show how he varied his method, adapting it to the particular case.

14. *The teaching of St. Paul is at once institutional and doctrinal, in both respects unfolding and adapting to the Greek and Roman world the teaching of Jesus and the primitive apostles.*

Some of the important teachings of St. Paul appear also in the First Epistle of St. Peter and the writings of St. John. This does not imply dependence upon St. Paul, but rather a consensus of the apostolic teachers on these principles. Where the apostles seem to differ, they do so in writing from different points of view, and give supplementary, complementary teaching. In their interpretation of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, and of His teaching and that of the Old Testament, the apostles under the guidance of the Spirit all interpreted in accordance with the mind of the reigning Christ, as Jesus had interpreted in accordance with the mind of the Father. This organic living method of interpretation is the true Christian method. It explains the variations as well as the concord in the teaching of the apostles.

15. *When one looks upon Christian Theology as a whole at the close of the apostolic period, one sees added to the Old Testament a considerable body of literature, which was gradually being organised into a New Testament.*

In the formation of the New Testament the same three layers appear as in that of the Old Testament. The fundamental Gospels correspond with the funda-

mental Law ; the Pauline Epistles correspond with the Prophets ; the other Epistles and the Apocalypse correspond with the *Hagiographa*, or Writings of the Old Testament, in both cases a more indefinite and irregular group.

16. Besides these writings there were oral apostolic tradition, and the institutions of government and discipline and worship, established by apostolic authority.

The primitive disciples received their knowledge of the Christ and His teaching from the oral instruction of the apostles and their associates, confirmed by miracles and other manifestations of the presence and activity of the divine Spirit, both objective and subjective. As Jews they were already instructed in the Old Testament Scriptures, which remained to them as Christians a divinely inspired and authoritative canon.¹ The oral interpretation of the Old Testament continued to be an important part of Christian education. To this teaching were added institutions of government and worship, which taught objectively, and were as authoritative as the instruction in doctrine.

17. The apostles and teachers of the Church of the third and fourth generation received their earlier education in the Jewish, Greek, or Roman schools ; but their special Christian education in the company of older apostles and teachers, and by a study of the New Testament as well as of the Old Testament writings. Their practical training was received in the institutions of the Christian Church : in its worship, government, and discipline.

They were instructed in the apostolic teaching as the norm of faith and life, whether recorded in the New Testament or attested by the consensus of the churches established by the apostles. The authority of apostolic teaching was recognised in matters of institution as well

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, p. 2.

as in those of faith. The institutional training, from the very nature of the case, was the principal training for many Christians. The importance of this training, which is practical and experimental, has often been overlooked through interest in the doctrinal training. The Twelve and their successors were to be priests and kings as well as prophets in the kingdom of God. The Christian ministry had to be trained in the exercise of the priestly and the royal as well as of the prophetic function. Christian institutions of government and worship had their part in the building up of the apostolic Church.

PART II

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE ANCIENT CHURCH

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE SECOND CHRISTIAN CENTURY

1. *The study of theology in the second century was chiefly in the Greek world and in the Roman Empire.*

Doubtless there continued to be a study of theology in the Semitic world also, under the guidance of the disciples of the Twelve and the Seventy, but there is little historical trace of it.

2. *The chief teachers of the Church in the second century were Greek-speaking Christians.*

Greek was the religious language of Christians in the West as well as in the East, in Rome and Africa and Gaul, as well as in Alexandria, Antioch, and Asia Minor. It was spoken in all parts of the Roman Empire, and its use enabled the Christian teacher to give instruction to foreign students or in foreign countries, and the local church to hold close and frequent intercourse with all other churches, even those situated in distant lands.

3. *The chief Christian teachers of the second century were trained in the Greek schools of rhetoric, and some of them in the schools of philosophy also.*

Christianity began to attract the attention of students in the schools of philosophy. Teachers of philosophy could no longer ignore it. To meet their attacks or to answer their inquiries there was need of a body of apologists acquainted with both Christian doctrine and Greek philosophy, and trained to plead, to persuade, and to convict. There was also need of Christian teachers qualified to instruct converts from the philosophical schools, to prepare men of the highest education for baptism, and to train them up as teachers of Christian theology or philosophy.

4. *The numberless Gnostic sects, claiming to possess the true wisdom, were Oriental in their origin rather than Greek. They claimed an esoteric wisdom, which was imparted only to the elect ; and they had a secret discipline or training for their disciples.*

Gnosticism is really a syncretistic religion, a compound of Christianity with Oriental mysticism. The war waged by the Christian Church in the second century with Gnosticism was even more difficult than the conflict with Judaism or with heathenism. The necessity of battling for genuine Christianity against the many spurious forms proposed by the Gnostics forced Christian writers and teachers to appeal for authority to the traditions of the apostolic sees and to the apostolic writings.

5. *The religions of Isis and of Mithras made extensive propaganda in the Roman Empire, especially in the West, in the early Christian centuries.*

The religion of Isis was a revival of the ancient Egyptian religion ; the religion of Mithras a revival of Persian Mazdaism. These religions were propagated by the army and by travelling merchants, rather than by missionaries. They also had their esoteric doctrine and forms of worship, into which only the well-trained were

initiated. It is noticeable that the religions with which Christianity came into conflict were largely Oriental.

6. The early Christians did not neglect the education of their children or of converts to the Christian faith. Coming as they did from Greek, Hebrew, Roman, and Oriental races, they brought with them the habits of study which were so characteristic of the Eastern and Western world in the centuries in the midst of which Christianity arose.

The children of Christians and adult converts were trained in the catechetic schools attached to every Christian congregation, usually by the presbyters or the bishop himself. Such catechetical training was necessary in order to Christian baptism, and then still further in order to partake of the Holy Communion. This was the secret discipline of Christianity in the first and second centuries, by which the teaching of the apostles and the institutions of government and discipline which the apostles established were perpetuated in the Christian Church. In this way was maintained that concord in apostolic tradition to which Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement point as characteristic of the Catholic Church, though scattered throughout the world, over against heresies of every sort.

7. The Christian teachers of the second century were trained by older Christian teachers in the apostolic tradition and in the Sacred Writings, just as their predecessors had been by the apostles themselves.

This training was practical as well as theoretical ; and even the theoretical was given by personal intercourse rather than by lectures or text-books. Thus, even in the Greek universities, as Newman, Sandys, and others agree,

‘Philosophy lived out of doors. No close atmosphere oppresses the brain or inflames the eyelid ; no long session stiffens the limbs. Epicurus is reclining in his garden ; Zeno looks like

a divinity in his porch ; the restless Aristotle, on the other side of the city, as if in antagonism to Plato, is walking his pupils off their legs in his Lyceum by the Ilissus.'

'It was what the student gazed on, what he heard, what he caught by the magic of sympathy, not what he read, which was the education furnished by Athens.'¹

This is a faithful representation of the training of the early Christian minister by the apostles and their successors.

8. The Christian literature of the second century, so far as preserved, confirms what has been said. This literature is nearly all Greek, so that we are limited thereby to the Greek world ; but though no Semitic literature has been preserved, there is sufficient reason to think that if any were extant it would show that the study of theology by Jesus and His apostles was carried on by their methods in the Orient also.

We cannot limit the teaching of the Catholic Church to that which has been transmitted to us in the writings of the second century now extant, for many of the great bishops and teachers of that period have left no literary monuments, and the writings of many other influential teachers have been lost.

9. The Christian Church was, by wise tactics, and under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, propagated first in the chief cities of the Roman Empire by St. Paul and his associates.

It was in just these cities that the highest culture of the time was found. It is a mistake to suppose that the leading Christian teachers of the early Church were chiefly of the lower classes. The disciples of the apostles, like the Jewish proselytes, were among the more intelligent and higher classes of the cities.

¹ Newman, *Historical Sketches* ; *vide Sandys*, i. p. 87.

10. *Antioch was one of the chief seats of Christian culture ; and the letters of its second bishop, Ignatius, are masterpieces of rhetoric and of thought, second only to those of St. Paul in early Christian literature.*

According to Sandys, Antioch is

‘described as a home of learning and culture in the youth of Cicero’s client, the poet Archias, who was born *c.* 119 B.C. A library, with a temple of the Muses, was also founded there by the last of the Antiochi (after 69 B.C.). Antioch thus received from the last of the Seleucids the gift of a “Museum,” which Alexandria had received from the first of the Ptolemies.’¹

The Church of Antioch was established at an early date, and became the first great Greek community of Christians. It is significant that the terminology of Christianity seems to have originated at Antioch with the words *Christian*, *Church*, *Catholic*, and *Apostle* ;² and that the first great propaganda to the Gentiles began there with St. Paul and St. Barnabas, as also the first great Christian controversy. Antioch must have been, then as later, a great seething mass of population, a centre of intellectual and moral conflict ; for East and West, Greek and Oriental, met there as nowhere else in the empire. In the second century the church of Antioch was the most highly developed of all the Christian churches with the possible exception of the church of Rome, as may be seen from the letters of Ignatius, said to have been its second bishop.

Ignatius († 110-117), while on his way to martyrdom in Rome, wrote seven letters. Those to the Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, and Romans were sent from Smyrna ; those to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to Polycarp, their bishop, were written at Troas. Ignatius was undoubtedly a disciple of apostles. He was also one who had ‘many deep thoughts in God,’ who might hope to receive from his Lord revelations, and

¹ Sandys, i. p. 165.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, p. 47.

who was 'able to write of heavenly things.'¹ Yet he deemed himself 'not yet perfected in Jesus Christ,' rather as 'now beginning to be a disciple.' His readers were his 'schoolfellows.' He was not sure that he was worthy to suffer, and begged for their prayers.² He implored the Romans to make no effort to save him :

'Grant me nothing more than that I be poured out a libation to God, while there is still an altar ready. . . . I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread. . . . The pangs of a new birth are upon me. Bear with me, brethren. . . . Suffer me to be an imitator of the passion of my God. . . . Even though I myself, when I am with you, should beseech you, obey me not ; but rather give credence to these things which I write unto you.'³

He reminds the Ephesians :

'Ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul, who was sanctified, who obtained a good report, who is worthy of all felicitation ; in whose footsteps I would fain be found treading, when I shall attain unto God.'⁴

To the Philippians he wrote :

'I heard certain persons saying : "If I find it not in the charters, I believe it not in the Gospel." And when I said to them, "It is written," they answered me, "That is the question." But as for me, my charter is Jesus Christ ; the inviolable charter is His cross, and His death, and His resurrection, and faith through Him.'⁵

11. Polycarp of Smyrna, Asia Minor, was a pupil of the apostles, and taught as bishop until old age. One of his letters, an epistle to the Philippians, has been preserved. He suffered martyrdom about the year 155.

Irenæus refers to Polycarp as one of those through whom 'the ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles, and the preaching of the truth has come down to' the Church of his own day. He says :

¹ Ignatius, *Ad Trall.*, 4, 5 ; *Ad Eph.*, 20.

² *Ad Eph.*, 3 ; *Ad Trall.*, 4, 12.

³ *Ad Rom.*, 2, 4-7. ⁴ *Ad Eph.*, 4.

⁵ *Ad Phil.*, 8.

‘ Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles, and conversed with many who had seen Christ, but was also, by apostles in Asia, appointed bishop of the Church in Smyrna, whom I also saw in my early youth ; for he tarried [on earth] a very long time, and, when a very old man, gloriously and most nobly suffering martyrdom, departed this life, having always taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true. To these things all the Asiatic churches testify, as do also those men who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present time.’¹

In a letter to Florinus preserved in Eusebius’ *History*,² Irenæus warns him :

‘ These doctrines, the presbyters who were before us, and who were companions of the apostles, did not deliver to thee.

‘ For when I was a boy, I saw thee in lower Asia with Polycarp. . . . I remember the events of that time more clearly than those of recent years. For what boys learn, growing with their mind, becomes joined with it ; so that I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed, and his goings out and his comings in, and the manner of his life, and his physical appearance, and his discourses to the people, and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord. And as he remembered their words, and what he heard from them concerning the Lord, and concerning His miracles and His teaching, having received them from eye-witnesses of the “Word of Life,” Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures. These things being told me by the mercy of God, I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart. And continually, through God’s grace, I recall them faithfully.’

Eusebius describes Polycarp as ‘ a disciple of the apostles, a man of eminence in Asia, having been entrusted with the episcopate of the church of Smyrna by those who had seen and heard the Lord.’³

Ignatius ascribes to him a ‘ godly mind, grounded as it were on an immovable rock,’ and gives him counsel in words which have a prophetic ring :

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 4.

³ Eusebius, iii. 36.

² Eusebius, v. 20.

‘The season requires thee, as pilots require winds, or a storm-tossed mariner a haven, that it may attain unto God. . . . Let not those that seem to be plausible, and yet teach strange doctrine, dismay thee. Stand thou firm, as an anvil when it is smitten. It is the part of a great athlete to receive blows and conquer.’¹

Upwards of forty years later, when Polycarp came to die, he had the reputation of being an ‘apostolic and prophetic teacher,’ whose every word ‘was accomplished and would be accomplished.’ His people testify to his ‘blameless life from the beginning,’ and to the honour shown to him for that ‘holy life, even before his grey hairs came.’ The mob at Smyrna demand his death as ‘the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of (their) gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice or worship.’² Irenæus describes him as ‘a man who was of much greater weight, and a more steadfast witness of truth, than Valentinus and Marcion, and the rest of the heretics. He it was who, coming to Rome in the time of Anicetus, caused many to turn away from the aforesaid heretics to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received this one and sole truth from the apostles—that, namely, which is handed down by the Church.’³ In a letter to Victor of Rome Irenæus testifies to Polycarp’s concern for the unity of the Church, saying :

‘When the blessed Polycarp was at Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they disagreed a little about certain other things, they immediately made peace with one another, not caring to quarrel over this matter. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe what he had always observed with John, the disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles with whom he had associated; neither could Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, as he said that he ought to follow the customs of the presbyters that had preceded him. But though matters were in this shape, they communed together, and Anicetus conceded the

¹ Ignatius, *Epistle to Polycarp*, 1, 3.

² *Epistle of Smyrnæans*, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19.

³ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 4.

administration of the Eucharist in the church to Polycarp, manifestly as a mark of respect. And they parted from each other in peace, both those who observed, and those who did not, maintaining the peace of the whole Church.¹

The only writing left to us by Polycarp is his Epistle to the Philippians, which Irenæus calls a 'powerful letter,' and Jerome describes as 'very valuable,' and as read in his day 'in the meetings in Asia.'² According to the chronology now generally accepted Polycarp must have been between twenty-five and thirty years of age at the death of the apostle John. He is an important link in the succession of teachers by whom the apostolic tradition was preserved.

12. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, was also, according to Irenæus, a pupil of the apostles. He wrote 'Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord,' the earliest Christian commentary, which has been lost.

Papias (c. 70-163) writes in a passage preserved by Eusebius :

'I shall not hesitate also to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have at any time learned carefully from the elders, and carefully remembered, guaranteeing their truth. For I did not, like the multitude, take pleasure in those that speak much, but in those that teach the truth; not in those that relate strange commandments, but in those that deliver the commandments given by the Lord to the faith, and springing from the truth itself. If, then, any one came, who had been a follower of the elders, I questioned him in regard to the words of the elders,—what Andrew, or what Peter said, or what was said by Philip, or by Thomas, or by James, or by John, or by Matthew, or by any other of the disciples of the Lord, and what things Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord, say. For I did not think that what was to be gotten from the books would profit me as much as what came from the living and abiding voice.'³

¹ *Vide* Eusebius, v. 24.

² Eusebius, iii. 39.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 17.

Irenæus calls Papias 'a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp,'¹ and Jerome repeats this statement.² Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, Philip of Side, Georgius Hamartolus, Anastasius of Sinai, and several anonymous writers, all agree in connecting Papias with the apostle John as disciple, eye-witness, or cotemporary.³ But Eusebius in his *Church History* remarks that Papias does not explicitly claim to be 'a hearer and eye-witness of the holy apostles,' and seems to distinguish from the apostle John a presbyter of the same name, who was more probably his own instructor.⁴ Eusebius, however, in that very passage, calls Papias a 'cotemporary' of 'Philip the Apostle,' who 'resided in Hierapolis with his daughters,' and relates a tale heard by Papias from those prophetesses. Moreover Jerome, while making the discrimination between the apostle and the presbyter John, yet understands Papias to assert that he 'has the apostles as his authorities.'⁵ In the letter already cited Jerome calls Irenæus 'a disciple of Papias, who was a hearer of John the Evangelist.'⁶ It seems clear that Papias was commonly supposed to have stood to the apostle John in the relation of disciple, to Irenæus in the relation of master, and to Polycarp in the relation of companion. Fragments of his lost work have been preserved by other writers.

13. *The Epistle of Barnabas*, written early in the second century, represents the Alexandrian methods of philosophy and exegesis, and carries on the tendencies of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, only in less sober and less restrained conceptions.

This epistle gives an idea of the kind of study that

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, v. xxxiii. 3, 4.

² Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 3.

³ *Vide* Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 527 seq.

⁴ Eusebius, iii. 39.

⁵ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 18.

⁶ Jerome, *Ep.* lxxv. 3.

was carried on in Alexandria at the beginning of the second century. Clement of Alexandria ascribes it to 'the apostle Barnabas,' and thinks it sufficient to 'aduce as a witness the apostolic Barnabas, and he was one of the Seventy, and a fellow-worker of Paul.'¹ Origen cites 'the catholic Epistle of Barnabas.'² Eusebius classes it in one place among the disputed books, in another among those rejected from the canon.³ The identification of the author with the apostle Barnabas is now generally abandoned.

14. *The First Epistle of Clement of Rome is a fine specimen of Christian scholarship, worthy of ranking with the letters of Paul and Ignatius.*

Clement was a disciple of St. Paul and St. Peter. According to Irenæus, 'this man, as he had seen the blessed apostles, and had been conversant with them, might be said to have the preaching of the apostles still echoing [in his ears], and their traditions before his eyes. Nor was he alone [in this], for there were many still remaining who had received instructions from the apostles. In the time of this Clement, no small dissension having occurred among the brethren at Corinth, the Church in Rome despatched a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles.'⁴

The letter itself contains this appeal :

'Let us come to those champions who lived nearest to our time. Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation.... Let us set before our eyes the good apostles, Peter and Paul.'⁵

This epistle contains a passage on love, which rises to the height of 1 Cor. xiii. In view of it one cannot

¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, ii. 6, 20; cf. v. 10.

² Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 63.

³ Eusebius, iii. 25; vi. 14.

⁴ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, iii. 3, 3.

⁵ Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.*, 5.

wonder that Clement of Alexandria calls the author 'the Apostle Clement.'¹ Origen describes him as 'a disciple of the apostles.'² Tertullian claims that he was ordained by St. Peter.³ He was certainly familiar with St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, and he imitates that apostle; for, writing as the head of the Roman church to rebuke the church of Corinth, he uses no other authority than that of love. Eusebius writes :

'There is extant an epistle of this Clement, which is acknowledged to be genuine, and is of considerable length and of remarkable merit. . . . We know that this epistle has been publicly used in a great many churches, both in former times and in our own.'⁴

Again he says that this epistle 'is accepted by all,' that Hegesippus was acquainted with it, and that Dionysius of Corinth showed 'that it had been the custom from the beginning to read it in the church.'⁵ Jerome states that in his day it was still 'publicly read' in some churches.⁶ Clement is identified by Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others with the Clement of Philippi mentioned by St. Paul in his letter to that church,⁷ but the identification is dubious.⁸ There is a tradition that this Clement was of one of the noblest families of Rome.

However this may be, his letter shows that he had a high degree of culture, both Greek and Christian. In Rome he might get, and judging from his epistle he did get, the best training of the times in the grammar and rhetorical schools, as well as direct apostolic training from St. Peter and St. Paul. The epistle is written (c. 96) in the name of the church of Rome, and contains

¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, iv. 17.

² Origen, *De principiis*, ii. 3, 6.

³ Tertullian, *De praescriptione haereticorum*, 32.

⁴ Eusebius, iii. 16.

⁵ Eusebius, iii. 38; iv. 22, 23.

⁶ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 15.

⁷ Phil. iv. 3.

⁸ *Vide* Salmon, 'Clemens Romanus,' in *Dict. Christ. Biography*.

no mention of Clement; yet from the earliest times it was unanimously recognised as his. This implies prominence in the Roman church, and leadership among its presbyters. The Roman canon of the mass still commemorates Linus, Cletus, Clemens, and some think that this commemoration dates from Clement's own time. He is classed among the Roman bishops, and is given the third place after the apostles by Irenæus, Eusebius, and 'Eastern chronologers generally'; the second place by the Liberian catalogue, Augustine, and most of the Latins.¹ Other writings have been wrongly ascribed to Clement: (1) the so-called Second Epistle, a homily whose authenticity was doubted by Eusebius, the first to mention it; and (2) the *Clementina*, which, as Eusebius says, 'do not even preserve the pure stamp of apostolic orthodoxy.'²

15. *Before the middle of the second century the great Christian prophet Hermas wrote his 'Shepherd.'*

Internal evidence makes it plain that Hermas was cultivated in Greek as well as in Christian scholarship. His *Shepherd* is ethical and prophetic in character. It is commonly divided into five *Visions*, twelve *Mandates*, and ten *Similitudes*. According to Lightfoot,

'The work is found in general circulation in the Eastern and Western Churches soon after the middle of the second century. About this time also it must have been translated into Latin. It is quoted by Irenæus in Gaul, by Tertullian in Africa, by Clement and Origen in Alexandria. All these fathers—even Tertullian, before he became a Montanist—either cite it as Scripture, or assign to it a special authority as in some sense inspired and quasi-canonical.'³

Origen calls the *Shepherd* 'a very useful scripture, and in my opinion divinely inspired.'⁴ The Muratorian

¹ *Vide* Salmon, 'Clemens Romanus,' in *Dict. Christ. Biography*.

² Eusebius, iii. 38.

³ Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 239.

⁴ *Vide* Lightfoot, *ibid.*

Fragment describes it as 'written very recently in our times in the city of Rome by Hermas, while his brother, Bishop Pius, sat in the chair of the church of Rome. And therefore it also ought to be read ; but it cannot be made public in the church to the people, nor placed among the prophets, as their number is complete, nor among the apostles to the end of time.'¹ Eusebius declares that the canonicity of the *Shepherd* 'has been disputed by some, and on their account (it) cannot be placed among the acknowledged books ; while by others it is considered quite indispensable, especially to those who need instruction in the elements of the faith. Hence, as we know, it has been publicly read in churches, and I have found that some of the most ancient writers used it.'² Jerome testifies that in his day it was still 'read publicly in some churches of Greece,' and adds : 'It is in fact a useful book, and many of the ancient writers quote from it as an authority ; but among the Latins it is almost unknown.'³ The work itself represents Hermas as charged with a message to 'the rulers of the Church' ; a book to be 'given to the presbyters,' of which he was to make two copies. He is told : 'Thou shalt send one to Clement, and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty ; while Grapte shall instruct the widows and the orphans. But thou shalt read (the book) to this city along with the presbyters that preside over the church.'⁴ Origen remarks that Hermas as 'the disciple of the Spirit' is charged with the message to 'the presbyters of the whole Church of God' (i.e. to the mature in wisdom), and told to give it 'not by letter, nor by book, but by the living voice.'⁵

¹ *Vide* McGiffert, *Eusebius' Church History*, p. 135, n. 23.

² Eusebius, iii. 3.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 10.

⁴ Hermas, *The Shepherd*, Vis. ii. 2, 4.

⁵ Origen, *De principiis*, iv. 1.

16. *The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,* has been well described as 'a church manual of primitive Christianity.'¹ It is from the early part of the second century, and contains a manual of morals for catechumens, and a manual of worship.

The *Didache* probably came from Palestine, as it shows the influence of Palestinian methods of thought. The form of the work indicates that it was used for purposes of instruction. The core of the book, the *Two Ways*, was probably the earliest manual for catechumens. The manual of worship was for those who had been admitted to the Christian mystery of the Lord's Supper, and its essential nucleus is the Lord's Prayer, which has ever been attached to the Eucharist. The fatherhood of this prayer is the fatherhood of Christian experience, the fatherhood of God as the Father of Jesus Christ and of all that are Christ's. The prayer was regarded as belonging only to Christians, and so was taught after baptism to communicants. Clement of Alexandria quotes the *Didache* as Scripture. Athanasius says that it was used in his day for the instruction of catechumens.² Eusebius gives it among the works rejected from the canon.³ It was taken up into several ancient writings, including the Epistle of Barnabas and the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

17. *The Apostles' Creed* became stereotyped in form by the middle of the second century. It is an evidence of credal catechetical instruction in Rome and elsewhere, all over the Christian world, from the earliest times.

The Apostles' Creed is based not only on the baptismal formula, but also on the Christian symbol of the *Fish*, which was the secret password of Christians from the

¹ Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, p. 215; Schaff, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*.

² Eusebius, iii. 25; *vide* McGiffert's edition, p. 156, n. 21.

³ *Fest. Ep.*, 39.

early second century. All catechumens or candidates for baptism were taught this creed; and they were required to profess it, in order to baptism. Irenæus speaks of 'retaining unchangeable in the heart the rule of the truth received by means of baptism,' and claims that 'the catholic Church throughout the whole world possesses one and the same faith, . . . received from the apostles and their disciples.'¹ He testified as one who knew the immediate disciples of the apostles, and was intimately acquainted with the churches in Asia, Gaul, and Rome.²

18. In the second half of the second century a series of apologists arose among the Christians.

There is some difference of opinion as to whether the earliest apology is to be found in the anonymous *Epistle to Diognetus*, given by Lightfoot among the works of the Apostolic Fathers, or in the *Apology of Quadratus*, or in the recently discovered *Apology of Aristides*. These apologists use the methods of Greek logic and rhetoric, and the principles of philosophy, especially the Platonic, to justify and defend Christianity. Krüger³ still maintains the early date of the *Epistle to Diognetus* (prior to 135 A.D.), Harnack dates the *Apology of Quadratus* 125-6, that of Aristides 138-161(-147), and puts the one addressed to Diognetus, at the earliest, toward the close of the century.⁴

The author of the *Epistle to Diognetus* writes :

'Having been a disciple of apostles, I come forward as a teacher of the Gentiles, ministering worthily to them . . . the lessons which have been handed down. For who that has been rightly taught, and has entered into friendship with the Word, does not seek to learn distinctly the lessons revealed openly by the Word to the disciples.'⁵

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, I. ix. 4; x. 1, 3.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 10 seq.

³ Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 100.

⁴ Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 720 seq. ⁵ *Epistle to Diognetus*, 11.

The *Apology* of Quadratus is extant only in the fragment quoted by Eusebius, who says :

‘ The work is still in the hands of a great many of the brethren, as also in our own, and furnishes clear proofs of the man’s understanding and of his apostolic orthodoxy. He himself reveals the early date at which he lived in the following words : “ But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were genuine : those that were healed, and those that were raised from the dead, who were seen not only when they were healed, and when they were raised, but were also always present ; and not merely while the Saviour was on earth, but also after His death, they were alive for quite a while, so that some of them lived even to our day.” ’¹

It is possible, though not certain, that this Quadratus is identical with the one mentioned by Eusebius as ‘ renowned along with the daughters of Philip for his prophetic gifts,’ and who is classed among the Christian prophets in a work against the Montanists, which declares : ‘ Neither can they boast of Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or any others not belonging to them.’² Jerome calls Quadratus ‘ disciple of the apostles,’ and praises his *Apology* as ‘ indispensable, full of sound argument and faith, and worthy of the apostolic teaching.’³

Aristides, according to Eusebius, ‘ a believer earnestly devoted to our religion, left, like Quadratus, an *Apology* for the faith, addressed to Hadrian. His work, too, has been preserved even to the present day by a great many persons.’⁴ Jerome calls him ‘ a most eloquent Athenian philosopher, and a disciple of Christ, while yet retaining his philosopher’s garb.’ His *Apology* is ‘ regarded by philologists as a monument to his genius.’⁵

¹ Eusebius, iv. 3.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 19.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 20.

⁴ Eusebius, iii. 37 ; v. 17.

⁵ Eusebius, iv. 3.

19. *Taking the writings of this period together, we may say that the foundations of the chief theological disciplines were already laid.*

Kihn well says :

‘In the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* we have the short outline of a manual of religion, of a liturgy and church order, such as were worked out more circumstantially in the *Apostolic Constitutions*; in the Epistle of Clement of Rome the first sketches for the development of canon law, in the Epistle of Barnabas the beginnings of speculative dogmatic and of the allegorical method of Biblical exegesis, in the Epistle to Diognetus the outlines of an apologetic against non-Christians, in the Epistles of Ignatius the first traces of pastoral theology and of an apologetic against heretics, in the *Shepherd* of Hermas the first attempt towards a Christian ethic, in the martyr acts of Ignatius and Polycarp the first works relating to Church history.’¹

20. *The greatest Christian teacher of the third quarter of the second century was Justin Martyr.*

Justin (c. 114-165) was born in Samaria, probably of Greek parentage, and was a studious man, showing familiarity with both Hebrew and Greek methods. He was converted to Christianity after passing through several schools of Greek philosophy. At Ephesus (c. 135) he was instructed in Christianity by men who had been trained by the apostles, and came into conflict with a Jew named Trypho, a conflict which he subsequently describes, enlarges and embellishes in his *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew*. This dialogue uses at the same time the methods of Greek philosophy, and Hebrew Rabbinical logic and methods of interpretation, to show that Jesus was the fulfilment of the Messianic ideals of the Old Testament, and that Christianity was the true philosophy. This work is equally valuable as an apologetic or vindication of Christianity against Judaism, and as an interpretation of the Messianic prophecy of the Old Testament.

¹ Kihn, *Encyklopädie der Theologie*, p. 44.

Justin retained as a Christian his philosopher's garb,¹ and in it preached and taught the Christian religion. He says of the aged Christian who was his first instructor :

'I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul ; and a love of the prophets, and of those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me ; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable. Thus, and for this reason, I am a philosopher.'

Again he writes :

'I myself, when I was delighting in the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians slandered, and saw them fearless of death, and of all other things which are counted fearful, perceived that it was impossible that they could be living in wickedness and pleasure. . . . For no one trusted in Socrates so as to die for (his) doctrine ; but in Christ, who was partially known even by Socrates (for He was, and is, the Word who is in every man . . .), not only philosophers and scholars believed, but also artisans and people entirely uneducated, despising both glory, and fear, and death. . . . I myself, when I discovered the wicked disguise which the evil spirits had thrown around the divine doctrines of the Christians, . . . laughed both at those who framed these falsehoods, and at the disguise itself, and at popular opinion ; and I confess that I both boast and with all my strength strive to be found a Christian.'²

Justin seems to have visited many regions. In the words of Gildersleeve, 'his knowledge of the Christian religion is drawn from immediate contact with the Christian life, not at this point and that, but over a wide range of travel ; and his description of Christian worship is of priceless value, for the worship he describes was the worship of the Church Universal.'³ Finally he came to Rome (c. 141-142) and remained there as the chief teacher of the Christian religion until his martyrdom. During this period he came into conflict with the

¹ Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, i. ; Eusebius, iv. 11.

² Justin, *Apology*, ii. 10, 12, 13.

³ Gildersleeve, *The Apologies of Justin Martyr*, p. xiii., in the Douglass Series of Christian Greek and Latin Writers, v.

Gnostics, and especially with Marcion, who established in Rome an heretical society (c. 144). Justin had also to vindicate Christianity in the Roman schools against the heathen philosophers. It was at this period that he wrote his *Dialogue with Trypho* (c. 155-160) and his two *Apologies*. The larger *Apology* (c. 150-153) was addressed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. It is a model of Christian apologetic by a true Christian philosopher, according to whom 'the footsteps of the Logos are to be traced throughout the ages, faintly luminous among the Greeks, brighter among the Hebrews, shining with full effulgence only at the advent of our Saviour.'¹

Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, seems to have been Justin's chief opponent; and to his plottings Justin's martyrdom is attributed by Eusebius.² In all probability Justin met the martyr Polycarp, who visited Rome c. 154-155, and also Hegesippus, who was in Rome about the year 150. Eusebius ascribes to Justin many works which have been lost, and tradition many which are no longer regarded as his. Eusebius sought to 'stimulate the studious to peruse with diligence' the works of one whose 'discourses were thought worthy of study even by the ancients,' as 'monuments of a mind educated and practised in divine things,' one who was 'a genuine lover of the true philosophy,' who 'busied himself with Greek literature,' and 'in his writings contended for the faith.'³ His pupil, Tatian, calls him 'the most admirable Justin';⁴ Methodius, 'a man not far removed either from the times or from the virtues of the apostles.'⁵ Jerome testifies that 'in behalf of the religion of Christ (he) laboured strenuously . . . insomuch that he did not shun the ignominy of the cross.'⁶

¹ Gildersleeve, p. xl.

² Eusebius, iv. 16; Justin, *Apology*, ii. 3.

³ Eusebius, iv. 8, 11, 18.

⁴ Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, 18.
⁵ Methodius, *Discourse on the Resurrection*, vi.; *vide* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 234.

⁶ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 23.

21. *Tatian was a pupil of Justin at Rome, and he also wrote an *Apology*. His *Diatessaron* became the official Gospel of the Syrian churches.*

Tatian says in his *Oration to the Greeks* :

‘I was born in the land of the Assyrians, having been first instructed in your doctrines, and afterwards in those which I now undertake to proclaim. . . . I have visited many lands; I have followed rhetoric, like yourselves; I have fallen in with many arts and inventions; and finally, when sojourning in the city of the Romans, I inspected the multiplicity of statues brought thither by you. . . . Wherefore having seen these things, and moreover also having been admitted to the mysteries, and having everywhere examined the religious rites . . . retiring by myself, I sought how I might be able to discover the truth. And, while I was giving my most earnest attention to the matter, I happened to meet with certain barbaric writings, too old to be compared with the opinions of the Greeks, and too divine to be compared with their errors; and I was led to put faith in these by the unpretending cast of the language, the inartificial character of the writers, the foreknowledge displayed of future events, the excellent quality of the precepts, and the declaration of the government of the universe as centred in one Being. And my soul being taught of God, I discerned that the former class of writings lead to condemnation, but that these put an end to the slavery that is in the world, . . . while they give us, not indeed what we had not before received, but what we had received but were prevented by error from retaining.’¹

This *Apology* of Tatian was written soon after that of Justin (c. 153), and deals with the Old Testament in a similar way, but with an attitude hostile toward Greek philosophy. According to Eusebius, Tatian left ‘a great many writings,’ but this one ‘appears to be the best and most useful of all.’² The enmity of Crescens toward Justin was extended to Tatian;³ yet after Justin’s death his pupil taught in Rome, and Rhodo claims to have studied with him there.⁴ Some years later, however (c. 172), Tatian went into eastern Syria, where he

¹ Tatian, *Oratio ad Græcos*, xxix., xxxv., xlvi.

² Eusebius, iv. 29.

³ Tatian, xix.

⁴ Eusebius, v. 13.

seems to have departed from strict orthodoxy. Irenæus says that 'as long as he continued with (Justin), he expressed no such views; but after his martyrdom he separated from the Church, and, excited and puffed up by the thought of being a teacher, . . . he composed his own peculiar type of doctrine.'¹

Jerome states that 'while teaching oratory (Tatian) won not a little glory in the rhetorical art, . . . and was distinguished so long as he did not leave his master's side.'² His most important work was his *Diatessaron* (c. 160-172), a consolidation of the four Gospels into one continuous narrative, which was used as the official Gospel in the Syrian churches for several centuries.

22. Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian, wrote five books of Memoirs (c. 175-189), which have been lost, except for fragments. This work gained for him the title of the Father of Church History.

Hegesippus gathers the materials for Church history, rather than writes one. However, his Memoirs would be invaluable for historical purposes if we possessed them. About the year 150 he made a journey to Rome by way of Corinth, of which he writes:

'I spent several days with the Corinthians, during which we were mutually refreshed by the orthodox faith. On my arrival at Rome, I drew up a list of the succession [of bishops] down to Anicetus. . . . But in the case of every succession, and in every city, that is held which is preached by the Law, and the Prophets, and the Lord.'

According to Eusebius, he met on this journey 'a great many bishops, and . . . received the same doctrine from all.'³

23. Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, was converted to Christianity, and wrote an *Apology*, which he

¹ Irenæus, *ibid.*, i. 28.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 29.

³ Eusebius, iv. 22.

presented to the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus (c. 177), and also a dogmatic monograph on the Resurrection.

The style of Athenagoras shows that he was well trained in the rhetorical and philosophical schools of Athens. According to Philip of Side, Athenagoras

‘embraced Christianity while wearing the garb of a philosopher, and presiding over the academic school. He, before Celsus, was bent on writing against the Christians ; and, studying the divine Scriptures in order to carry on the contest with the greater accuracy, was thus himself caught by the all-holy Spirit ; so that, like the great Paul, from a persecutor he became a teacher of the faith which he persecuted.’¹

This statement is quite credible ; but there is obvious error in that which makes Athenagoras ‘the first head of the (catechetical) school at Alexandria,’ ‘Clement his pupil, and Pantænus the pupil of Clement.’² The connection of Athenagoras with Alexandria and its school is therefore dubious.

A contemporary of Athenagoras was Dionysius, the famous bishop of Corinth, who wrote many letters both to churches and to individuals, none of which have been preserved except in fragments. These, however, show him to have been an able and scholarly man. Eusebius says that he ‘communicated freely of his inspired labours, not only to his own people, but also to those in foreign lands, and rendered the greatest service to all in the catholic epistles which he wrote to the churches.’³ Jerome ascribes to him ‘great eloquence and industry.’⁴

24. Theophilus, the sixth bishop of Antioch, was eminent as a Christian teacher.

Theophilus wrote in the last quarter of the second

¹ *Vide* Dodwell, *Dissert. in Ireneum*, 429.

² *Vide* Mansel, ‘Athenagoras,’ in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

³ Eusebius, iv. 23.

⁴ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 27.

century many important works, apologetical, exegetical, doctrinal, polemical, and catechetical. His *Apology* addressed to Autolycus (c. 182-190) is the most important of the works that have been preserved. Theophilus was a learned man, and had been trained in the rhetorical and philosophical schools, although he exalted the Old Testament above Greek philosophy. Jerome praises the 'elegance and expressiveness' of his writing.¹

25. *Melito, Bishop of Sardis, and Apollinaris of Hierapolis were apologists from Asia Minor, who carried on the Christian education and the study of theology in that region.*

Melito wrote during the last half of the century, and produced, besides his *Apology*, a large number of monographs on doctrinal, exegetical, and practical subjects, only fragments of which have been preserved. Jerome admires his 'fine oratorical genius.'² Eusebius quotes Polycrates as calling Melito 'the eunuch who lived altogether in the Holy Spirit.'³

Apollinaris wrote chiefly apologetic and controversial works of uncertain date, though from about the same time, all of which have been lost. Both of these writers opposed Montanism, and both, according to Eusebius, 'enjoyed great distinction.'⁴

26. *The greatest of all the Christian writers and scholars of the second century was Irenæus of Gaul.*

Irenæus († after 200) was born and trained in Asia Minor, and was acquainted in his youth with Polycarp and with other elders who had heard the apostles, and thus belonged to the third generation from the apostles, whose teachings he claims to have handed down correctly. He also claims to be in union and harmony with

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 26.

³ Eusebius, v. 24.

² Jerome, *ibid.*, 24.

⁴ Eusebius, iv. 26.

the Church of Rome and the Catholic Church throughout the world. He writes :

‘ The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith, . . . [and] as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points, just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For, although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world. . . . Nor will any one of the rulers in the churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict injury on the tradition. For the faith being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able at great length to discourse regarding it, make any addition to it, nor does one, who can say but little, diminish it. . . . The Catholic Church possesses one and the same faith throughout the whole world.’¹

Again he declares :

‘ We have learned from none others the plan of salvation, than from those through whom the gospel has come down to us, which they did at one time proclaim in public, and at a later period . . . handed down to us in the Writings, to be the ground and pillar of our faith. . . . It is within the power of all, in every church, . . . to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the churches, and the successions of these men to our own times.’²

Irenæus claims to have received instruction not only from Polycarp, but also from those whom he calls ‘ the elders,’³ pupils of the apostles or their disciples. In one

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, i. 10.

² Irenæus, iii. 1 *seq.*

³ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 553 *seq.*

place he appeals to the witness of 'all the elders, who in Asia conferred with John, the Lord's disciple. . . . And some of them saw not only John, but others also of the apostles.'¹ Again he declares that the apocalyptic vision of the Book of Revelation 'was seen no very long time since, but almost in our day.'² At the time of the great persecution at Lyons (c. 177) Irenæus was a presbyter in that church, and was sent to Rome as its representative with a letter, in which he is commended as 'brother and comrade' and as 'zealous for the covenant of Christ.'³ It is possible that he had been in Rome before, at the time of Polycarp's martyrdom, as tradition asserts; ⁴ but it is certain that on this visit he became well acquainted with the Roman Church. He was thus familiar with the churches of the East and of the West as well as with the Church of Rome, the capital city of the Christian religion. He therefore spoke of what he knew when he wrote :

'The path of those belonging to the Church circumscribes the whole world, as possessing the sure tradition from the apostles, and gives unto us to see that the faith of all is one and the same.'⁵

Shortly after his return to Lyons he was made bishop of that church. His great work was written *Against Heresies* (c. 181-189). His other writings are, with one exception, preserved only in fragments. He shows an extensive knowledge of a great number of heresies in all their details, and gives a masterly refutation of them. In his preface he says :

'Thou wilt not expect from me, who am resident among the Keltæ, and am accustomed for the most part to use a barbarous dialect, any display of rhetoric, which I have never learned, or any excellence of composition, which I have never practised, or

¹ Irenæus, ii. 22.

² Irenæus, v. 30.

³ Eusebius, v. 4.

⁴ *Vide* Zahn, 'Irenæus,' in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁵ Irenæus, v. 20.

any beauty and persuasiveness of style, to which I make no pretensions. But thou wilt accept in a kindly spirit what I in a like spirit write to thee, simply, truthfully, and in my own homely way.'¹

Upon the man who thus writes, the theology of the period was chiefly built. He also laboured on behalf of the unity of the Church in the paschal controversy, conferring with most of 'the rulers of the churches,' and sending a letter of admonition to Victor, the Bishop of Rome. He warned Victor against cutting off from communion with the Roman Church those churches which, in differing from Rome, were yet 'following the tradition of an ancient custom,' saying :

'This variety in observance has not originated in our time; but long before in that of our predecessors. . . . Yet all of these lived together none the less in peace; and we also live in peace with one another; and the disagreement in regard to the fast confirms the agreement in the faith.'²

Victor yielded to his persuasion, and Irenæus thus became in fact, what he was in name, a peacemaker.

27. Thus far the bishops and presbyters and other Christian teachers received their general training in the Greek and Roman schools of various grades, but their Christian education in the bishop's catechetical school, and instruction in the Christian mysteries after baptism. They then learned in the public worship of the Church, through the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and the use of the sacred institutions of the Church. Those who were candidates for the Christian ministry received private instruction, both theoretical and practical, from the bishop and other Christian teachers authorised by him.

Those students who were to enter the ministry were trained by the bishops, chiefly in their own homes, in

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. hær.*, Pref. 2, 3.

² Eusebius, v. 24.

practical preparation for the work. Just as Jesus trained the Twelve, and the apostles Peter and Paul their converts, so did their successors train the Christian ministers who were to help them and follow them, educating them as their assistants, and occasionally sending them forth on missions.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES IN THE SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA AND ITS DEPENDENTS

1. *The school of Alexandria was founded, so far as we are able to determine, by Pantænus, near the close of the second Christian century.*

Pantænus († c. 200), a Stoic philosopher and a teacher of rhetoric, after his conversion to Christianity organised in Alexandria a Christian school, of which he became the head. It is commonly supposed that this 'school of the faithful' was the ancient catechetical school. If so, it was transformed by Pantænus. Eusebius¹ describes him as 'a man highly distinguished for his learning'; Jerome as of 'great prudence and erudition both in the Scriptures and in secular literature.'² They agree in saying that he was sent on a mission to India. According to Eusebius,

'He displayed such zeal for the Divine Word, that he was appointed as a herald of the Gospel of Christ to the nations in the East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were still many evangelists of the Word, who sought earnestly to use their inspired zeal, after the examples of the apostles, for the increase and building up of the Divine Word. Pantænus was one of these.'

It is not clear when this mission took place, but it seems most probable that it preceded his activity in the

¹ Eusebius, *Church History*, v. 10.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 36.

school. Eusebius tells of it after making his general statement respecting the work of Pantænus in the school, but he closes his account with the words: 'After many good deeds Pantænus finally became the head of the school at Alexandria, and expounded the treasures of divine doctrine both orally and in writing.' Jerome ascribes to him 'commentaries on Holy Scripture,' many of which were extant at the time; but adds that his 'living voice was of still greater benefit to the churches.'

2. *The school at Alexandria seems to have been a kind of rhetorical school in which Christian rhetoric and Christian philosophy were taught by Pantænus.*

Prior to this the Christians of Alexandria were trained in Christianity by the bishop, presbyters, and deacons through private instruction and catechetical lectures. Christians who desired a higher education had been obliged to seek it in the public rhetorical school and the university. Now an opportunity was given for Christian education in rhetoric and philosophy.

It was the merit of Pantænus that Clement and Origen were trained by him in his school, and doubtless many other scholars of lesser rank. In all probability the rhetorical and philosophical principles of Clement and Origen, based as they are upon Philo's methods, were derived from Pantænus. Origen justifies his study of Greek literature and philosophy by appealing to the example of Pantænus, 'who benefited many . . . by his thorough preparation in such things.'¹

3. *After the death of Pantænus, Clement became the head of the school. He had previously studied with many teachers in different countries, but finally came to Alexandria and Pantænus.*

¹ Eusebius, vi. 19.

Clement († c. 215) was probably born in Athens, where he received his early training. He was of an inquiring mind, and went about from country to country in search of truth and learning. His first Christian teacher was an Ionian, presumably from Ephesus or Smyrna; the second a Syrian, probably from Antioch; the third an Egyptian, doubtless of Alexandria; the fourth an Assyrian, probably Tatian; the fifth a Palestinian Jewish Christian, of Jerusalem or Cæsarea. Pantænus was the last and the most influential, 'a Sicilian bee among the flowers of the apostolic meadow.'¹ These 'blessed and truly remarkable men,' whose 'powerful and animated words it was (Clement's) privilege to hear,' he describes as 'preserving the true tradition of the blessed doctrine, directly from the holy apostles, Peter and James and John and Paul, the son receiving it from the father.' Clement shows by his writings that he had a very extensive knowledge of classic Greek as well as Christian literature. In his *Stromata* he gives 'specimens of very various learning.'² Jerome describes him as 'the author of notable volumes, full of eloquence and learning, both in Sacred Scripture and in secular literature.'³ He was ordained a presbyter, and became the assistant of Pantænus in the school, and after his death his successor. In 203 Clement fled from persecution to Cappadocia, where he influenced Alexander, a former pupil, then bishop in Cæsarea.⁴ The last notice that we have of Clement occurs in a letter which Alexander sent by him to the Church of Antioch, in which he writes:

'I have sent this letter to you by Clement, the blessed presbyter. . . . Being here, in the providence and oversight of the

¹ Clement, *Stromata*, i. 1.

² Eusebius, vi. 13.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 38.

⁴ So Harnack, *Missionsgeschichte*, pp. 460, 469.

Master, he has strengthened and built up the Church of the Lord.¹

4. Clement regards philosophy as a pedagogue leading to Christ, and uses it as a constructive principle of theology. His philosophy is eclectic, and influenced especially by Philo.

Clement writes :

‘ Before the advent of the Lord, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks for righteousness. And now it becomes conducive to piety; being a kind of preparatory training to those who attain to faith through demonstration. . . . For God is the cause of all good things; but of some primarily, as of the Old and the New Testament; and of others by consequence, as philosophy. Perchance, philosophy also was given to the Greeks directly and primarily, till the Lord should call the Greeks: for it was “a schoolmaster to bring to Christ” “the Hellenic mind,” as the law the Hebrews. Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation, paving the way for him who in Christ is perfected.’²

Clement gives three stages of education : (1) that leading to Christian baptism ; (2) the moral discipline ; and (3) the highest, the discipline of Gnosis, or Wisdom. His great work is the development of this ideal in a trilogy : (1) *Protrepticus*, Exhortation, the introduction to divine truth, addressed to the unconverted ; (2) *Pœdagogus*, instruction in Christian morals, addressed to the new Christian ; (3) *Stromata*, Patchwork, training in divine Wisdom or Gnosis, for the mature Christian. Clement shows by his writings familiarity with the apocryphal books of Wisdom, the Ecclesiasticus of Ben Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, as well as with the writings of Philo. He regards the philosophy of the Greeks as based on the Law of Moses, both alike being derived from the Logos, or divine Wisdom. He was the first systematic theologian in the East, as Irenæus was in the West.

¹ Eusebius, vi. 11.

² Clement, *Stromata*, i. 5.

5. Clement was also an interpreter of the Scriptures, and uses the allegorical method of Philo, tempered by Greek methods of interpretation.

He distinguishes between the body and the soul of Scripture, and gives a fourfold use of it: (1) 'the way in which we instruct plain people, who receive the word superficially'; (2) the instruction of those who have studied philosophy, 'cutting through' the Greek dogmas and 'opening up' the Hebrew Scriptures; (3) the overcoming of 'rustics and heretics who are brought by force to the truth'; (4) 'the gnostic teaching, which is capable of looking into things themselves.'¹ He well says:

'The truth is not to be found by changing the meanings . . . but in the consideration of what perfectly belongs to and becomes the sovereign God, and in establishing each one of the points demonstrated in the Scriptures from similar Scriptures.'²

His great commentary, *Hypotyposes*, on selected passages of Scripture, has not been preserved except in a few fragments.

6. Clement was succeeded at Alexandria by Origen, the greatest scholar of the ancient Church, who remained as head of the school from 204 to 232.

Origen (c. 185-254) was trained by his father, an Egyptian Christian, 'in the Divine Scriptures' and 'the sciences of the Greeks,'³ and by Pantænus and Clement in sacred learning. When he was about seventeen years of age his father suffered martyrdom. In the following year, after the flight of Clement, he was made by the bishop, Demetrius, master of the school. Nearly ten years later, under the influence of Heraclas, his friend and pupil, he began to attend lectures at the Museum, especially in philosophy under the celebrated Ammonius

¹ Clement, *Stromata*, vi. 15.

³ Eusebius, vi. 2.

² *Ibid.*, vii. 16.

Saccas, who was probably the father of Neo-Platonism. Ammonius seems to have begun as an eclectic philosopher, seeking to reconcile and harmonise Plato and Aristotle. Porphyry ascribes to him 'the greatest proficiency in philosophy of any in our day.'¹ But Origen had not the same interest in philosophy as Clement. His greatest work was not in theological or philosophical doctrine and speculation, but in the textual criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures. Wide as was the scope of instruction in the school of Alexandria, its chief interest was in Biblical study and methods of work. Eusebius writes :

Many, 'drawn by the fame of Origen's learning, which resounded everywhere, came to him to make trial of his skill in Sacred Literature. And a great many heretics, and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers, studied under him diligently, receiving instruction from him not only in divine things, but also in secular philosophy, . . . so that he became celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. And he instructed many of the less learned in the common school branches, saying that these would be no small help to them in the study and understanding of the Divine Scriptures. On this account he considered it especially necessary for himself to be skilled in secular and philosophic learning.'²

He remained at the head of the school in Alexandria until 232, assisted in later years by Heraclas, who became his successor. About the year 213 he visited Rome, where he made the acquaintance of Pope Zephyrinus and of Hippolytus. Several years later he was driven from Alexandria by political disturbances, and sought refuge in Palestine. In the course of his journey he preached in Jerusalem and Cæsarea by invitation of the bishops. This displeased his own bishop, for he was still a layman, and led to his recall. In 230 he was sent to Greece, and again visited Cæsarea. While there he accepted ordination as a presbyter.

¹ Eusebius, vi. 19.

² Eusebius, vi. 18.

This was contrary to good order, and was resented by his bishop, who refused to recognise the ordination as valid. At two synods convoked by him, Origen was degraded, and removed from the headship of the school of Alexandria. He accordingly withdrew to Cæsarea, where he established a school over which he presided until his death.

7. Origen became head of the school of Cæsarea, where he remained for twenty-two years until his martyrdom in 254. Here his usefulness was still greater than at Alexandria, and he had many distinguished pupils.

At Cæsarea also Origen had many noted men among his pupils, such as Gregory Thaumaturgus and the three bishops, Alexander, Theoctistus, and Firmilian ; and his influence extended over the whole Christian world. His conduct in the matter of his castration was questioned by some, but defended by others. His ordination was irregular, but maintained by the bishops of Palestine. His doctrines were questioned, but never in his own age officially condemned by the Church.¹ Gregory Thaumaturgus tells us in his *Panegyric* (c. 239) that Origen taught dialectics, physics, geometry, astronomy, ethics, metaphysics, and theology ; that is, the liberal arts, philosophy and theology. Grammar he gave over at Alexandria to Heraclas ; but Jerome includes it with rhetoric, arithmetic, and music, among the arts in which was shown ' his immortal genius.'

' He taught all the schools of philosophers in such wise that he had also diligent students in secular literature, and lectured to them daily ; and the crowds which flocked to him were marvellous. These he received in the hope that through the instrumentality of this secular literature he might establish them in the faith of Christ.' ²

¹ *Vide* Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. pp. 356 seq.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54.

Gregory has left a remarkable description of Origen as a teacher, in which he says :

'He took us in hand, as a skilled husbandman may take in hand some field untilled, . . . and surveying us, as it were, with a husbandman's skill, and gauging us thoroughly, . . . he put us to the question, and made propositions to us, and listened to our replies ; . . . sometimes assailing us in the genuine Socratic fashion, and again upsetting us by his argumentation, whenever he saw us getting restive under him, like so many unbroken steeds. . . . He was the first and only man that urged me to study the philosophy of the Greeks, and persuaded me by his own moral example both to hear and to hold by the doctrine of morals. . . . I shall not speak of him as a perfect pattern, but as one who vehemently desires to imitate the perfect pattern, and strives after it with zeal and earnestness, even beyond the capacity of men. . . . He deemed it right . . . that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written both by the philosophers and by the poets of old, rejecting nothing, and repudiating nothing, . . . except only the productions of the atheists. . . . He did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy ; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all, and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine. And he himself went on with us, preparing the way before us, and leading us by the hand, as on a journey, whenever anything tortuous and unsound and delusive came in our way. And he helped us like a skilled expert who has had long familiarity with such subjects, and is not strange or inexperienced in anything of the kind, and who therefore may remain safe in his own altitude, while he stretches forth his hand to others, and effects their security too, as one drawing up the submerged. Thus did he deal with us, selecting and setting before us all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false. . . . He alone of all men of the present time with whom I have myself been acquainted, or of whom I have heard by the report of others, has so deeply studied the clear and luminous oracles of God as to be able at once to receive their meaning into his own mind, and to convey it to others. For that Leader of all men, who inspires God's dear prophets, . . . has honoured this man as He would a friend, and has constituted him an expositor of these same oracles : and things of which He only gave a hint by others, He made matters of full instruction by this man's instrumentality ;

and in things which He, who is worthy of all trust, either enjoined in regal fashion, or simply enunciated, He imparted to this man the gift of investigating and unfolding and explaining them : so that, if there chanced to be any one of obtuse and incredulous mind, or one again thirsting for instruction, he might learn from this man, and in some manner be constrained to understand and to decide for belief, and to follow God. These things, moreover, as I judge, he gives forth only and truly by participation in the divine Spirit : for there is need of the same power for those who prophesy and for those who hear the prophets. . . . Now that greatest gift this man has received from God, . . . that he should be an interpreter of the oracles of God to men, and that he might understand the words of God, even as if God spake them to him. . . . Therefore to us there was no forbidden subject of speech, for to us there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inaccessible ; but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both barbarian and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human ; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge.'¹

8. Origen was the greatest Biblical scholar in the ancient Church, and his works were of fundamental importance in textual criticism and Biblical interpretation.

He was not only a Greek scholar, but he learned Hebrew, and advised with the Jewish patriarch of Alexandria, Huillus, on difficult matters relating to the Hebrew text and language. According to Eusebius,

' He procured as his own the original Hebrew Scriptures, which were in the hands of the Jews. He investigated also the works of other translators of the Sacred Scriptures besides the Seventy. And in addition to the well-known translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, he discovered certain others, which had been concealed from remote times—in what out-of-the-way corners I know not—and by his search he brought them to light.'²

Jerome asks :

' Who is there, who does not know that he was so assiduous in the study of the Holy Scriptures, that, contrary to the spirit of his time and of his people, he learned the Hebrew language ? '³

¹ Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Panegyric on Origen*, 7-15.

² Eusebius, vi. 16.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54.

Origen's greatest work was in textual criticism. He compiled the *Hexapla*, or Sixfold Old Testament, giving in six parallel columns: (1) the Hebrew text, (2) the Hebrew text transliterated in Greek characters, (3) the Greek version of Aquila, (4) the text of Symmachus, (5) the Septuagint, (6) the Theodotion text. He also prepared an abbreviated edition, the *Tetrapla*, by omitting the Hebrew texts (1) and (2). The fifth column was issued separately as the Septuagint text for Palestine and adjacent parts. In these texts he used the same signs as did the Alexandrian editors of the text of Homer: the *obelus*, with which he indicated additions to the original, and the *asterisk*, which he used for omissions. The textual work of Origen in his *Hexapla* is more comprehensive than any that has been undertaken since.¹

Origen also issued an immense number of expositions of Scripture: (a) *scholia*, brief notes such as the Greek grammarians used, written chiefly in Alexandria; (b) *homilies*, sermons on texts, written in Cæsarea; (c) *commentaries*, written partly in Alexandria and partly in Cæsarea. In his commentaries he carries out his principles of interpretation. He distinguishes a three-fold sense, as body, soul, and spirit: (1) the literal sense, (2) the moral sense, (3) the spiritual sense. He exalted the last, and so became the father of the allegorical method for the Church. The rules of Philo he uses freely. To Philo and his school the inner sense attained by allegory was the real sense designed by God. Underlying the allegorical method is the truth that human language is inadequate to convey to man the thoughts of God. At the best it can only be a sign and external representation. The defect of this method lies in the tendency to extend it beyond its legitimate bounds to all passages and every word, especially as a

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 192 seq.

means of escape from difficulties of philosophy and theology, or of support for peculiar religious views.¹

Jerome says of Origen's commentaries :

'In this part of his work he gives all the sails of his genius to the breathing winds ; and, drawing off from the land, he sails away into mid-ocean.'²

Again Jerome writes :

'I will only say this about (Origen), that I should gladly have his knowledge of the Scriptures, even if accompanied with all the ill-will which clings to his name.'³

9. Origen was the first great systematic theologian of the Church. His work on Christian Principles was written in Alexandria. In Cœsarea he wrote the polemic against Celsus.

Origen's work *On First Principles* was written c. 218-230. Preuschen says that it is 'noteworthy as the first endeavour to present Christianity as a complete theory of the universe.'⁴ Duchesne considers its methods admirable.⁵ Origen's work *Against Celsus* was written c. 246-8, when he was over sixty years of age.

Jerome agrees with Didymus—indeed, with 'all but the ignorant'—in regarding Origen as 'the greatest teacher of the churches next to the apostles.' 'The labours of this one man have surpassed those of all previous writers, both Greek and Latin.'⁶ Jerome's own absorption in Biblical studies helps to account for this estimate, as also for his refusal to be called an Origenist when the doctrines of Origen were in question. Accused of praising him, Jerome writes :

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 435, 449.

² *Vide* Rufinus, *Apology*, ii., citing Jerome's *Preface to Commentaries of Origen on Ezekiel*.

³ Rufinus, *ibid.*, citing Jerome's *Preface to Book on Hebrew Questions*.

⁴ Preuschen, 'Origen,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁵ Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, i. p. 356.

⁶ *Vide* Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 13, 16, 20.

‘ In these passages do the dogmas of the Church come into question ? . . . I have merely praised the simplicity of his rendering and commentary, and neither the faith nor the dogmas of the Church come in at all. Ethics only are dealt with, and the mist of allegory is dispelled by a clear explanation. I have praised the commentator, but not the theologian ; the man of intellect, but not the believer ; the philosopher, but not the apostle. . . . Does any one wish to praise Origen ? Let him praise him as I do. From his childhood he was a great man, and truly a martyr’s son. At Alexandria he presided over the school of the church, succeeding a man of great learning, the presbyter Clement. . . . The Scriptures he knew by heart, and laboured day and night to explain their meaning. He delivered in church more than a thousand sermons, and published innumerable commentaries. . . . Which of us can read all that he has written ? And who can fail to admire his enthusiasm for the Scriptures ? If some one in the spirit of Judas the Zealot brings up to me his mistakes, he shall have his answer in the words of Horace :

“ ‘Tis true that sometimes Homer sleeps, but then
He’s not without excuse :
The fault is venial, for his work is long.”

Let us not imitate the faults of one whose virtues we cannot equal.’¹

10. *The heads of the Alexandrian school after Origen were Heraclas, Dionysius, Theognostus, Pierius, and Peter, none of whom, however, rose to the height of the three earlier teachers in ability or learning.*

1. *Heraclas* († 247-8) was a fellow-student of Origen in the university under the philosopher Ammonius. Origen says :

‘ I found him with the teacher of philosophic learning, with whom he had already continued five years before I began to hear lectures on those subjects. And though he had formerly worn the common dress, he laid it aside, and assumed and still wears the philosopher’s garment ; and he continues the earnest investigation of Greek works,’ although ‘ a member of the presbiter of Alexandria.’²

Heraclas became a pupil of Origen in the catechetical

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

² *Vide* Eusebius, vi. 19.

school, then an assistant, and at last his successor. According to Eusebius, when Origen

‘saw that he had not time for the deeper study of divine things, and for the investigation and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, and also for the instruction of those who came to him,—for coming, one after another, from morning till evening to be taught by him, they scarcely gave him time to breathe,—he divided the multitude. And from those whom he knew well he selected Heraclas, who was a zealous student of divine things, and in other respects a very learned man, not ignorant of philosophy, and made him his associate in the work of instruction. He entrusted to him the elementary training of beginners, but reserved for himself the teaching of those who were farther advanced.’¹

Not long after the expulsion of Origen from the school, Heraclas was called by the death of Demetrius to the bishop’s seat (231-2), which he filled for over fifteen years. He had great fame both for philosophic studies and for Greek learning, and while in the school attracted to himself and to Alexandria Julius Africanus, one of the greatest scholars of the age.²

2. *Dionysius* († c. 265) succeeded Heraclas as chief of the school (c. 232), and then as bishop (c. 247); and during his episcopate he continued to preside in the school, at least for a time. He came of a wealthy Alexandrian family, and was a pupil of Origen and Heraclas. A man of great intellectual and executive ability, he was the first bishop of Alexandria to attain world-wide influence. He raised the see to a position second only to that of Rome. He maintained the Biblical and philosophical character of the school; but his literary activity was chiefly in letters to the principal sees of the Christian world, discussing and combating the heresies and schisms of his time: Millenarianism, Novatianism, Modalistic Sabellianism, and the Dynamic Monarchianism of Paul of Samosata.

¹ Eusebius, vi. 15.

² *Vide* p. 102.

3. *Theognostus* and *Pierius* became heads of the school after Dionysius, but the order and dates of their succession are uncertain. Whether Dionysius retained the presidency during his entire episcopate is doubtful. In any case *Theognostus* seems to have served for a time as his assistant, and certainly became the head of the school after his death (c. 265), if not before.

Pierius († 309) appears to have been a teacher in the school for the greater part of thirty years, and its chief for a portion of that time. He was a presbyter, and according to Jerome,

‘He taught the people with great success, and attained such elegance of language, and published so many treatises on all sorts of subjects, . . . that he was called Origen Junior. He was remarkable for his self-discipline, devoted to voluntary poverty, and thoroughly acquainted with the dialectic art. After the persecution he passed the rest of his life at Rome.’¹

Eusebius classed Pierius among the ‘rarest of men,’ as ‘distinguished for his life of extreme poverty and his philosophic learning,’ and as ‘exceedingly diligent in the contemplation and exposition of divine things, and in public discourses in the church.’²

It is possible that *Achillas*, the successor of Peter in the episcopal chair, was head of the school for a part of this time.³ Eusebius states that he was appointed presbyter in Alexandria at the same time with Pierius, and became celebrated. ‘He was placed over the school of the sacred faith, and exhibited fruits of philosophy most rare and inferior to none, and conduct genuinely evangelical.’⁴ Athanasius refers to him as ‘the great Achillas.’⁵

These teachers maintained the Biblical character of the school, but were not men of eminent ability.

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 76.

² Eusebius, vii. 32.

³ Vide Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 66 seq.; Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l’Église*, i. p. 493.

⁴ Eusebius, vii. 32.

⁵ Athanasius, *Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt*, 23.

4. *Peter of Alexandria* was also a teacher in the school, and probably its chief for at least a part of his episcopate. He was made bishop in 300, and suffered martyrdom in 311. Eusebius calls him 'one of the most excellent teachers of the religion of Christ.' He 'presided most illustriously over the parishes in Alexandria, a divine example of a bishop on account of the excellence of his life and his study of the Sacred Scriptures.'¹

During this period a scholar named *Serapion* taught in the school, and may possibly have presided for a time.

11. *The school during the fourth century passed more and more into obscurity, probably owing to the absence of famous teachers, and to the domination of great ecclesiastics on the one hand, and the fanaticism of ignorant monks on the other.*

1. *Alexander* became bishop of Alexandria at an uncertain time subsequent to November 311, when his predecessor died. He was an able executive and correspondent of the other great sees. He is especially famous for his part in the Arian controversy. Doubtless the school continued to exist in his day, but nothing is known about it.

2. At the beginning of the fourth century *Hesychius* carried on the Biblical scholarship of the school in his great work on the text of the Septuagint, which became the standard for Egypt; but nothing certain is known of him or his relation to the school.²

3. *Athanasius* (293-373) was born in Alexandria, and it is probable that he was educated in the Christian school, but we have no report of it. A legend represents him as attracting the notice of Alexander in boyhood while at play, by his exact imitation of the part of a bishop in the rite of baptism. The account describes

¹ Eusebius, viii. 13; ix. 6.

² *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 193 seq.

him as 'well-educated,' and 'versed in grammar and rhetoric,' and the bishop is said to have made him his 'table-companion and secretary.'¹ His early advancement to leadership in the Church, and the character of his writings, alike imply training in sacred learning. He served as reader six years, and as deacon accompanied Alexander to the Council of Nicæa, where he was 'foremost among those who were in attendance on bishops,' and did 'his utmost to stay the plague' of Arianism.² On the death of Alexander the following year he succeeded him as bishop. His battle with the Arians lasted from this time until his death, that is, for nearly fifty years, in the course of which he was degraded, exiled, and restored again and again. The *Roman Breviary* describes him as 'the lealest soldier that the Catholic religion hath perhaps ever had,' and as governing 'the Church of Alexandria in great holiness, amid all changes of weather.'³ In the words of De Broglie, 'he was inflamed from his youth with that passion which makes saints—the love of Jesus Christ.'⁴ He became 'the most renowned and effective expounder' of the creed of Nicæa; and his name has 'not unfitly been coupled with that of Constantine,' 'the powerful guardian of the unity of the Church,' a unity involving 'the profession of a common creed.'⁵ He was at once 'the father of ecclesiastical orthodoxy, and the patron of ecclesiastical monachism.'⁶ He it was who 'introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life.'⁷ To Basil he seemed 'the summit of the whole Church,' a 'truly grand and apostolic soul,

¹ Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 17.

² Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat.* 21.

³ *Roman Breviary*, ed. Marquess of Bute, vol. i. pp. 1053 seq. (Feast day, May 2).

⁴ De Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire*, i. 372.

⁵ Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 120, 136.

⁶ Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, pp. 147 seq.

⁷ Gibbon, iv. 308.

who from boyhood had been an athlete in the cause of religion.'¹ His writings bear witness to his familiarity with the Scriptures. They are chiefly concerned with the Arian controversy, and are very numerous. Among them is a Life of Antony, of great influence in promoting piety of the ascetic type. The best known of his works against the Arians are the *Apology* and the *Four Orations*. The creed which bears his name belongs to the age of Augustine, originated in the school of Lérins, and presents Athanasian doctrine in an Augustinian form.²

4. Three names have been preserved as those of heads of the Alexandrian school during the fourth century : *Macarius*, *Didymus*, and *Rhodon*. Of *Macarius* almost nothing is known ; but *Didymus* († 395) is said to have presided in the school for more than fifty years, and taught both Rufinus and Jerome. Sozomen says that *Didymus* was

'acquainted with every branch of science, and was conversant with poetry and rhetoric, with astronomy and geometry, with arithmetic, and with the various theories of philosophy. He had acquired all this knowledge by the efforts of his own mind, aided by the sense of hearing ; for he became blind during his first attempt at learning the rudiments.'³

Jerome cries :

'Didymus, my own Didymus, who has the eyes of the bride in the Song of Songs, those eyes which Jesus bade us lift up upon the whitening fields, looks afar into the depths, and has once more given us cause to call him, as is our wont, the Seer-Prophet. . . . He is rude in speech, yet not in knowledge ; his very style marks him as one like the apostle, as well by the grandeur of the sense as by the simplicity of the words.'⁴

Antony sought to comfort him for his blindness by saying : 'Do not be distressed for the loss of a faculty

¹ Basil, *Epp.* 69, 80, 82.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 268 seq.

³ Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 16.

⁴ Jerome, cited in Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 24.

enjoyed by gnats and flies, when you have that inward eyesight which is the privilege of none but saints.'¹ Libanius wrote: 'You cannot surely be unacquainted with Didymus, unless you are unacquainted with the great city where he has been pouring out his learning for the benefit of others, night and day.'² He was the author of 'many admirable works,' including numerous commentaries, and several dogmatic and polemic writings. His book on the Holy Spirit is considered 'one of the best works of the ancient Church on the subject.'³ He was under the influence of Athanasius, and was extolled by Jerome for 'the purity of his faith in the Trinity,' but charged with being 'a most avowed champion of Origen.'⁴ His *Notes on Origen's Principles* are no longer extant.

Rhodon assisted Didymus for a time in the catechetical school, and finally succeeded him as its head. But after ten years (c. 405) Rhodon migrated to Side, Pamphylia, where he established a branch school. His pupil, *Philip of Side*, had the charge of this school for a time.⁵

With Rhodon the school of Alexandria came to an end. Political interference, ecclesiastical domination, and popular outbreaks, which were common occurrences, combined to reduce the school to severe straits and eventually to destroy it. The monks, rigid ascetics, and inclined to be hostile toward philosophy and Greek learning, were not favourable to the historic principles of the school, which had enabled its teachers to work in harmony with the teachers of the university. Didymus indeed had maintained friendly relations with the ascetics, and had won the approval of Antony as well as of Jerome. Like his bishop Athanasius he had

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* 68; cf. Socrates, iv. 29.

² Libanius, *Ep.* 321.

³ Krüger, 'Didymus,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁴ Jerome, *Apolog. adv. liberos Rufini*, 1. 6; iii. 27.

⁵ *Vide* Dodwell, *Dissertationen über die Mediaevalen Studien*, 1689, pp. 491 seq.



combined the two interests, and was as noted for piety as for universal knowledge. But when the unworthy Theophilus († 412) became bishop, he found an army of fanatical monks at his disposal. In 391 they destroyed the great Serapeum with its invaluable library. Again in 415, during Cyril's episcopate, they murdered Hypatia, the gifted philosopher of revived Neo-Platonism. Of course the Christian school could not flourish under such circumstances, between the upper millstone of a haughty and unscrupulous executive, and the lower one of a mob of fanatical monks.

Early in the fifth century a new school of Neo-Platonism was formed at Alexandria, in which the most interesting teacher was *Hypatia*. Her father was both philosopher and mathematician, and she followed in his footsteps. She was trained at Athens, and lectured in Alexandria on both subjects, until her death at the hands of a Christian mob.¹ Socrates says that she had 'made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time,' and that many of her pupils 'came from a distance to receive her instructions.' He mentions her 'cultivation of mind,' and 'self-possession and ease of manner'; and he asserts that she was admired by all men for 'her extraordinary dignity and virtue.'²

Among the Christians that studied with Hypatia was *Synesius of Cyrene* (c. 370-413). He was her most distinguished pupil, and on his first visit to Alexandria remained with her about five years (c. 390-395). From his father, a senator of Cyrene, he inherited a library, which he greatly enlarged. He went to Constantinople, while Chrysostom was bishop, as envoy of Cyrene at the court of Arcadius, and after his return spent two more years (c. 402-404) at Alexandria. In 406 he was called

¹ Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 365 seq.

² Socrates, vii. 15.

by the people from a life of retirement to be bishop of Ptolemais. After some hesitation he was consecrated in the following year. His *Dion*, written c. 405, is described by Sandys as 'an *Apologia pro vita sua*,' 'a treatise on education and moral discipline.' His letters, 159 in number, are of value, as 'full of the news of the day, full too of grace and point and literary interest.'¹ He also wrote a number of hymns, some of which are still in use.

Synesius' important letters on education and learning make no mention of the Christian school of Alexandria. By that time it had either already ceased to exist, or had sunk so low as to be unworthy of notice.

12. *The school of Alexandria exercised a great influence over Palestine, not only through Origen and his school at Cæsarea, but also through his successors at Alexandria. The chief scholars thus influenced were Julius Africanus and Alexander of Jerusalem.*

1. *Julius Africanus* (c. 160-240) seems to have served for a time as officer in the eastern Roman army, and to have studied in Edessa, and finally in Alexandria, to which he was attracted by 'the great fame of Heraclas.'² He settled eventually at Nicopolis, not far from Jerusalem. During a sojourn in Rome he constructed a library near the Pantheon for Alexander Severus.³ He ranks as one of the most learned men of the age ; and his *Kestoi*, *Embroideries*, numbering most probably twenty-four books, was a sort of encyclopædia. He was especially interested in history ; and his *Chronography* in five books was used by both Eusebius and Hippolytus, and is the basis of Christian chronology. These works are extant in fragments only, but some letters of importance have been preserved.

¹ Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, i. pp. 365 seq.

² Eusebius, vi. 31.

³ *Vide* Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iii. p. 39; Duchesne, i. pp. 460 seq.

2. *Alexander of Jerusalem* studied in Alexandria under Pantænus and Clement, and was influenced also by Origen, his fellow-student. After the death of both teachers he writes to Origen :

‘ For this, as thou knowest, was the will of God, that the ancestral friendship existing between us should remain unshaken ; nay, rather should be warmer and stronger. For we know well those blessed fathers who have trodden the way before us, with whom we shall soon be ; Pantænus, the truly blessed man and master, and the holy Clement, my master and benefactor, and if there is any other like them, through whom I became acquainted with thee, the best in everything, my master and brother.’¹

Alexander was, for a time, bishop in Cappadocia, probably at Cæsarea,² and suffered an imprisonment of some years for his faith. Shortly after his release (c. 212) he visited Jerusalem, and there was made coadjutor to the aged bishop Narcissus, and after his death full bishop of that see. In Jerusalem he established a library, and doubtless built up the catechetical school. The great Alexandrian scholars, wherever they went, established schools and libraries after the model of those of Alexandria. Eusebius states that the letters of many learned men ‘ have been preserved and are easily accessible . . . kept until our time in the library at Ælia (Jerusalem), which was established by Alexander, who at that time presided over that church. We have been able to gather from that library material for our present work.’³ After the removal of Origen to Cæsarea, Alexander joined Theoctistus, the bishop of that church, in constant attendance upon him ‘ as their only teacher, and (in) allowing him to expound the divine Scriptures, and to perform the other duties pertaining to ecclesiastical discourse.’⁴

¹ *Vide* Eusebius, vi. 14.

² Eusebius, vi. 20.

³ *Vide* Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 27.

Alexander died in prison during the Decian persecution. He was a broad-minded executive rather than a writer, and greatly increased the influence of the see of Jerusalem.

13. *The school of Cæsarea continued to flourish after the death of Origen, under the headship of Pamphilus, who established a great library and trained influential men.*

The school of Cæsarea, founded or greatly promoted by Origen, remained an important theological centre for some years, and was resorted to by many earnest students.

Pamphilus (c. 240-309), a native of Berytus, was trained in philosophy there, and in theology at Alexandria under Pierius. He became a presbyter at Cæsarea, and head of the theological school. He enlarged Origen's collection of books, and made of it a great library, gathering manuscripts from all parts of the world, employing copyists, and transcribing many works with his own hand. In this way he multiplied copies of the Scriptures and of Origen's works, seeking above all to secure accuracy in the transmission of the Sacred Text. He had a great reverence for Origen, and wrote an *Apology* for him in five books, to which his pupil, Eusebius, added a sixth. This work was the fruit of the two years' imprisonment which ended in his martyrdom. Eusebius describes him as 'most eloquent,' as 'excelling all in (his) time in most sincere devotion to the Divine Scriptures,' and as 'the great glory of the parish of Cæsarea.'¹ Jerome says that Pamphilus was

'so inflamed with love of sacred literature, that he transcribed the greater part of the works of Origen with his own hand; and these are still preserved in the library at Cæsarea. I have

¹ Eusebius, vii. 32; viii. 13; *Martyrs of Palestine*, xi. 2.

twenty-five volumes of Commentaries of Origen, written in his hand, *On the Twelve Prophets*, which I hug and guard with such joy, that I deem myself to have the wealth of Crœsus. And if it is such joy to have one epistle of a martyr, how much more to have so many thousand lines, which seem to me to be traced in his blood.'¹

14. *The chief pupil of Pamphilus was Eusebius, the father of Church History, and as an encyclopædic scholar second only to Origen.*

Eusebius (c. 265-340) was born at Cæsarea, and studied under Pamphilus, helping him in the school and in the enlargement of the library. According to Jerome they were in 'such thorough harmony with each other that they seemed to have but one soul between them, and one even went so far as to adopt the other's name.'² The pupil indeed was known as Eusebius Pamphili, and wrote a life of his master, which is no longer extant. He became the greatest scholar of his time, and ruled in Cæsarea as bishop for over twenty-five years. His works are almost as numerous as those of Origen. They cover a wide range of theological science, including exegesis, history, dogmatics, and practical theology. His chief merit, however, is as an historian. He wrote a number of Acts of Martyrs, biographies of Origen, Pamphilus, and Constantine, a chronicle based on that of Julius Africanus, and above all his Church History, a monumental work, upon which all later church history chiefly depends for the first three Christian centuries. He also wrote upon Biblical history, geography, and topography: much of this has unfortunately been lost. 'With Pamphilus the martyr (he was) a most diligent investigator of the Holy Bible,'³ thus carrying on the work of Origen. He wrote several commentaries on the Psalms, Isaiah, Luke, and First Corinthians, using the

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 75.

² Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 81.

method of the Alexandrian school. His greatest service in this regard was : (1) the preparation of sections and canons of the Gospels, in order to a comparison of the cognate sections in the interest of their harmony : these have been in use ever since ; (2) the issue of numerous copies of Origen's text of the Septuagint. He prepared no less than fifty copies for Constantine to be given to the chief churches of the empire. He also wrote a large number of apologetic works, especially one against Porphyry. Other works of importance were his *Theophania* in five books (preserved in Syriac), and his *Præparatio Evangelica* in fifteen books, and *Demonstratio Evangelica* in twenty books (preserved only in part). Eusebius took an important part in the Arian controversy, in which he represented a middle party, essentially in the line of Origen's teachings. He presented to the Council of Nicæa the creed of the Church of Cæsarea, which was accepted as a basis for the Nicene Creed, but with certain additions, which were not entirely agreeable to him.¹ These he managed to explain in his own sense ; though the stricter Nicene party charged him with Arian tendencies, if not with Arianism itself. He was, however, in this regard a conservative and scholarly mediator. As a broad-minded scholar he was opposed to extremes, and used his great influence to secure a simpler form for the Nicene Creed.

15. *Little is known of the school at Jerusalem until the time of Cyril, whose catechetical lectures give a faithful picture of the method and style of instruction in the bishop's school.*

Cyril (315-386) was ordained a deacon by Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, about the year 335, a priest by

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 214 seq. ; *Theological Symbolics*, p. 85.

Maximus II. ten years later, and finally bishop in 351. Sixteen of the thirty-five years of his episcopate were passed in exile, owing to Arian hostility. Cyril was a Eusebian in his theological position, and perpetuated the influence both of Eusebius and of Origen. His *Catechetical Lectures*, written c. 347-8, when he was a presbyter, give an exposition of the creed of Jerusalem for candidates for baptism in eighteen lectures, and then higher training for candidates for the Eucharist in five. In these he makes great use of the Scriptures.

16. The influence of Origen and the school of Cæsarea extended to Pontus and Cappadocia through Gregory Thaumaturgus, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, Pontus, and Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, Cappadocia. These bishops advanced the higher Christian education in those regions.

1. One of the ablest pupils of Origen at Cæsarea was *Gregory the Wonder-worker*, called originally Theodore (c. 213-270). He came of a high family, was thoroughly educated as a heathen in the grammar and rhetorical schools, and finally set out for Beirut (Berytus) to pursue the study of law. Coming to Cæsarea, he met Origen with momentous result. In his own words :

‘Love, like some spark, lighting upon our inmost soul, was kindled and burst into flame within us—a love at once to the Holy Word, . . . and to this man, His friend and advocate. And being by this love most mightily smitten, I was persuaded to give up all . . . even my boasted jurisprudence—yea, my very fatherland and friends. . . . “And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David.”’¹

Gregory studied with Origen for five years, and under his influence became a Christian. At the time of parting he wrote and delivered in Origen’s presence, and before a large audience, the panegyric already quoted.² After his return to Pontus, Gregory received a letter

¹ Gregory, *Panegyric on Origen*, 6.

² *Vide* pp. 90-91.

from Origen, acknowledging that he might become 'a finished Roman lawyer or a Greek philosopher,' but urging him rather to use 'the philosophy of the Greeks' and the liberal arts as helps to Christianity, imitating the Children of Israel, who by 'spoiling the Egyptians' obtained material for use in the service of God. Origen writes :

' Do you then, my son, diligently apply yourself to the reading of the Sacred Scriptures. . . . Knock at its locked door. . . . Seek aright, and with unwavering trust in God, the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, which so many have missed. Be not satisfied with knocking and seeking ; for prayer is of all things indispensable to the knowledge of the things of God. . . . My fatherly love to you has made me thus bold.' ¹

Gregory finally resolved to give up his professional prospects and follow Origen's advice. Not long after he was made bishop of Neo-Cæsarea. Besides the panegyric on Origen he wrote a short creed or exposition of the faith, and a number of letters, homilies, and lesser dogmatic treatises. He had a legal and practical mind, rather than a theological one, and therefore excelled as an executive rather than as a scholar. His name, the *Wonder-worker*, was due to the common opinion that he was 'a man endowed with apostolic miracles as well as with apostolic virtues.' ² Basil writes :

' Where shall I rank the great Gregory, and the words uttered by him ? Shall we not place among apostles and prophets a man who walked by the same Spirit as they ? . . . By the superabundance of gifts, wrought in him by the Spirit, in all power, and in signs and in marvels, he was styled a second Moses by the very enemies of the Church.' ³

2. *Firmilian* († 268) was bishop of Cæsarea, Cappadocia, for about forty years. He was certainly an admirer and friend of Origen. Whether he was won

¹ Origen, *Epistle to Gregory*.
³ Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 29.

² Jerome, *Ep. 70*.

to Christianity by Origen, as Gregory of Nyssa reports, is not so certain. At all events he was of the school of Origen, and spread in Cappadocia the higher Christian education characteristic of that school. According to Jerome he 'sought a visit from (Origen), and entertained him for a long while. Some time afterwards, going to Palestine to visit the holy places, he came to Cæsarea and was instructed by Origen at length in the Holy Scriptures.'¹ Eusebius writes that Firmilian was

'so earnestly affected toward Origen, that he urged him to come to (Cappadocia) for the benefit of the churches, and moreover he visited him in Judæa, remaining with him for some time, for the sake of improvement in divine things.'²

17. The school of Gaza was a child of Alexandria. Its most distinguished representatives were Timotheus, a grammarian, and Procopius, a rhetorician.

1. *Timotheus* studied in Alexandria, and taught in Gaza, flourishing in the latter part of the fifth century.

2. *Procopius* (c. 465-527) was famous as a rhetorician, and as a collector and arranger of exegetical material from the older exegetes. He also had lived in Alexandria, and there won such a reputation as a rhetorician that Antioch, Tyre, and Cæsarea vied with each other in efforts to secure his services. But he finally settled in Gaza, his native town.³ He is 'the first who can be demonstrated to have made *Catenæ*. The value of his work, which rests not only upon the Fathers from the third to the fifth century, but upon Josephus and Philo, and upon some of the teachers before Origen, gave it an epoch-making position.'⁴ His numerous letters are also of value.

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 54.

² Eusebius, vi. 27.

³ Vide Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza*, pp. 9 seq.

⁴ Zöckler, 'Catenæ,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

3. Among other commentators of the later Alexandrian school may be mentioned *Olympiodorus*, a deacon of Alexandria of the first half of the sixth century. He wrote many commentaries, the most of which have been lost. His commentary on *Ecclesiastes* has been preserved, and has merit.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH
AND ITS EASTERN RELATIONS FROM THE THIRD
CENTURY ONWARD

1. The Christians at Antioch, until the middle of the third century, received their training in the bishop's school, and went for higher culture to the public schools.

There is a long list of bishops of the Church of Antioch for the first three Christian centuries ; but the most of them were undistinguished men. None of them attained to the eminence of the second bishop, Ignatius ; and except for Theophilus, no other bishop rendered notable service in the study of theology. There is no evidence for the existence of any Christian school for higher education in Antioch before the middle of the third century ; but in the latter part of that century the presbyters of Antioch had among them several men of exceptional learning and ability, who built up a school of Christian literature. In the following century there sprang up in Antioch and the neighbourhood cloister schools, one of which became very famous. Thus Antioch had several important schools of different types. But all were built up by her presbyters, and all were characterised by the same tendencies in theology and philosophy, and by the same method in Biblical study. As students of theology the scholars of Antioch all belonged to one school of thought ; and it is therefore

possible to speak of 'the school of Antioch' as well as of 'the school of Alexandria.'

2. The apparent founder of the Christian school of Antioch was Malchion, a converted Sophist, the chief opponent of the heretical bishop, Paul of Samosata, in the second half of the third century.

Malchion was principal of a Sophist school in Antioch. He was converted to Christianity, became a presbyter, and organised his school as a Christian school. This must have been prior to 260, when Paul of Samosata became bishop; for Malchion was his chief opponent, and so thoroughly exposed his errors and immorality that he was deposed by a general council of bishops (267-9). Jerome describes Malchion as 'the highly gifted presbyter of the Church at Antioch, who had most successfully taught rhetoric in the same city.'¹

3. The school of Antioch gained its chief renown through Lucian, the ablest teacher and theologian of his time, especially in Biblical learning.

Lucian († c. 312) was probably born in Samosata of a prominent family, and received his early education at Edessa under Macarius. He removed to Antioch, c. 260-265, where he became a presbyter and an eminent teacher. At first he seems to have been friendly with Paul, the bishop, his compatriot and possibly his early acquaintance and friend; and for some time did not recognise Paul's deposition. But he does not seem to have been compromised by Paul's theological opinions, and for a long period the orthodoxy of Lucian and his school remained unquestioned. Eusebius tells of his death by martyrdom, and his fame 'for learning in sacred things.'² He was acquainted with Hebrew, and 'united what Syria, Alexandria, and Palestine had to offer for a

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 71.

² Eusebius, ix. 6.

scientific treatment of the Bible.' 'What Origen had been for the Alexandrian school, that was Lucian for the school of Antioch.'¹ His principal work was in textual criticism, the revision of the Greek Bible known as Lucian's text. Jerome says: 'Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat.'² Thus at the beginning of the fourth century there were three rival texts of the Greek Bible in circulation, one from each of the three great centres of theological education. Lucian, however, was chiefly active as a teacher who influenced many scholars throughout the East, especially in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

4. The school of Antioch was characterised by historical and literary principles of interpretation, and by a tendency towards Aristotelianism in philosophy.

How far the principles of the school can be carried back to Lucian we do not know; but probably in the main they may be, for he is universally recognised as the greatest teacher of the school, as Origen was of the school of Alexandria; only unfortunately he has left us but little in literature by which he may be judged.

The fundamental principles of interpretation of the school are as follows:³

(1) Every passage has its literal meaning, and only one meaning. We must, however, distinguish between plain and figurative language, and interpret each passage in accordance with its nature. (2) Alongside of the literal sense is the typical sense, which arises out of the relation of the Old Covenant to the New. It is based upon the literal sense, which it presupposes.

¹ Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, p. 9.

² Jerome, *Præf. in Paralip.*; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 193.

³ *Vide* Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 26 seq.

The school of Antioch rejected the allegorical method of the school of Alexandria, and did much to preserve a sounder exegesis in the Church. In Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, and Theodoret the principles of the school found expression in the noblest products of Christian exegesis.

As Kihn says :

‘The Antiochians mediated between the two contrasted positions : a coarse, childish, literal sense, and an arbitrary allegorical interpretation ; between the extremes of the Judaizers and Anthropomorphites on the one hand, and the Hellenistic Gnostics and Origenists on the other ; and they paved the way for a sound Biblical exegesis, which remained influential for all coming time, although indeed not always prevalent. Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, and even the later Alexandrians, like Didymus the Blind, felt the healthful influence on their exegetical method. Jerome introduced it into the West.’¹

The Aristotelian philosophy was more influential in this school than the Platonic ; and Neo-Platonism seems to have had little, if any, influence.

Lucian was the teacher of Arius and of Eusebius of Nicomedia, the chief Arians, and is therefore often held responsible for their views ; but incorrectly, if the creed attributed to him and adopted at the Council of Antioch in 341 was really his. It was probably the Creed of the Church of Antioch coming down from his time, and doubtless professed by him as an unchallenged presbyter of that church until his death.

5. Dorotheus, a presbyter of Antioch, was a younger cotemporary of Lucian, and also an eminent teacher of the school.

Little is known of *Dorotheus* († 303), but Eusebius knew him personally, and says that he was ‘a man of learning

¹ Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia*, pp. 29 seq. ; vide Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 451 seq.

among those of his day, who was honoured with the office of presbyter in Antioch. He was a lover of the beautiful in divine things, and devoted himself to the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with facility. He belonged to those who were especially liberal, and was not unacquainted with Grecian propædeutics.¹ He suffered in the Decian persecution; and, according to Eusebius, in him and his companions this persecution 'produced martyrs divine and illustrious above all whose praises have ever been sung, and who have been celebrated for courage, whether among Greeks or barbarians.'² Dorotheus seems to have been associated with Lucian in the building up of the school, and the development of its principles of exegesis.³

6. The most eminent scholar of the school was Eusebius, bishop of Emesa, who was distinguished as a teacher, whether he taught in Antioch or not.

Eusebius of Emesa († c. 360) was born of a noble family, in Edessa, where he received his early training. He then went to Palestine, and studied with Eusebius of Cæsarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, under whom he 'acquired a more intimate knowledge of sacred literature.'⁴ Dissatisfied with the allegorical method of interpretation, he left for Antioch and the school of Lucian, whose principles of exegesis were the same as those of his first school at Edessa. From Antioch he went to Alexandria to study philosophy, but reverted to the Aristotelianism of his native city. Socrates ascribes this visit to Alexandria to his wish to 'avoid a bishopric.'⁵ He was offered the episcopate at Antioch, but declined the honour. After another sojourn in that city he was made bishop of Emesa, Phœnicia. Whether

¹ Eusebius, vii. 32.

² Eusebius, viii. 6.

³ Vide Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, pp. 9 seq.

⁴ Sozomen, iii. 6.

⁵ Socrates, *Ecclæsiastical History*, ii. 9.

he taught at Antioch is not known, but he is reckoned as belonging to the school in the larger sense. He was certainly a teacher, for he taught Diodorus of Tarsus. Sozomen attributes to him a 'great reputation for sanctity and consummate eloquence.' Jerome says that he had 'fine rhetorical talent, composed innumerable works suited to win popular applause, and, writing historically, is most diligently read by those who practise public speaking.'¹ He wrote commentaries and polemic, apologetic and dogmatic treatises, of which only fragments have been preserved.

7. Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, was for some years presbyter and teacher in the church of Antioch, and had as his pupils Theodore of Mopsuestia and Chrysostom.

Diodorus († before 394) was a native of Antioch, but went to Athens for his higher education, and then resorted to Eusebius of Emesa. Before admission to the priesthood, Diodorus and Flavian, 'that excellent pair . . . worked night and day to stimulate men's zeal for the truth. They were the first to divide choirs into two parts, and to teach them to sing the Psalms of David antiphonally. Introduced first at Antioch, the practice spread in all directions, and penetrated to the ends of the earth.' Both men 'embraced an ascetic career, and were open champions of the apostolic decrees.'² Diodorus was made a presbyter, and, during the Arian persecution, 'the whole city' gathered to hear him preach, and were 'fed by him with sound doctrine,' from 'a tongue flowing with milk and honey.'³ 'In his wisdom and courage, like a clear and mighty river, (he) watered his own (sheep), and drowned the blasphemies of his opponents, thinking nothing of the

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 91.

² Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 19.

³ Chrysostom, *Laus Diodori*, 4; *vide* Venables, 'Diodorus,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

splendour of his birth, and gladly undergoing the sufferings of the faith.'¹ He taught in the church of Antioch, and also for a time as the head of a cloister school with Carterius as assistant. John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia were among the scholars trained in this community. According to Kihn,

'the seeds scattered by Diodorus and his pupils brought forth a grand development of theological science in general and exegesis in particular, for the Church of their time and for all later centuries.'²

There was among these scholars 'an extraordinary activity in the field of exegesis.' Diodorus wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Bible, and his great pupils show a like devotion to the study of the Sacred Writings. In 378 Diodorus was consecrated bishop of Tarsus, Cilicia, and three years later attended the Council of Constantinople, and there was recognised as metropolitan. He was one of the most prominent theologians of the school of Antioch, especially in dogmatics, and a defender of the Nicene faith. His numerous writings on dogma were for the most part controversial. Except for fragments all of his works have been lost, owing to the opposition of the Monophysites to him and the entire school of Antioch. In philosophy Diodorus was an Aristotelian.³ In theology he laid stress on the humanity of Christ and the distinction between the two natures, the human and the divine, over against the Apollinarians. In exegesis he likewise distinguished elements human and divine.

8. Apollinaris of Laodicea belonged to the school of Antioch in his exegetical and philosophical principles, though it is doubtful whether he ever studied at Antioch.

¹ Theodoret, iv. 22.

² Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*, pp. 55 seq.

³ Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. p. 601.

Apollinaris (c. 310-390) was the son of a teacher of rhetoric, and presbyter of the church of Laodicea in Syria. He himself became a teacher of rhetoric, a presbyter, and finally bishop of his native place. He was probably trained by his father, and it is quite possible that he may have received some education at Antioch. At all events he seems to have been one of the most learned men of his age. He was a great Biblical scholar, rejecting the allegorical method of the Alexandrians, and using the literal and historical methods of the Antiochans. He was also an Aristotelian like Diodorus.¹ According to Jerome, he wrote innumerable volumes on the Holy Scriptures.² As an apologist he is said to have 'surpassed his predecessors.'³ His dogmatic works were of great influence. He was a strict adherent of the Nicene theology, and a friend of Athanasius; but in seeking to explain the relation of the divine and the human in Christ and to maintain the unity of His person, he fell into heresy, and was condemned by the Church. His works are extant in fragments only, or under some more orthodox name.

9. John Chrysostom was a pupil of Diodorus, and was distinguished as a preacher and a Biblical interpreter on the practical side.

Chrysostom (c. 345-407) was born at Antioch of a rich patrician family. He attended the lectures of the rhetorician Libanius, the philosopher Andragathius, and above all the theologians Diodorus and Carterius. He was ordained as a reader soon after his baptism (c. 370). After eleven years of service he was ordained a deacon by Meletius, and five years later a priest by Flavian. For twelve years longer he laboured in Antioch as priest, possibly as teacher also, developing 'wonderful powers

¹ *Vide Duchesne, Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, ii. pp. 592, 601.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 104.

³ Krüger, 'Apollinaris,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

of eloquence and persuasion.' Sozomen says that he was declared by Libanius 'to surpass all the orators of the age'; and that when the sophist was asked on his death-bed whom he would choose to take his place, he answered: 'It would have been John, had not the Christians taken him from us.'¹ Suidas likens his eloquence in its irresistible power to the 'waterfalls of the Nile.'² In 398 he was consecrated bishop of Constantinople, and there he was recognised as 'the golden mouth.' Sozomen relates that the people 'hung upon his words, and could not have enough of them; so that, when they thrust and jammed themselves together in an alarming way, every one making an effort to get nearer to him, and to hear him more perfectly, he took his seat in the midst of them, and taught from the pulpit of the reader.'³ But his asceticism, and his determined attacks upon court abuses and sins, ruined his influence, and brought about his persecution and the exile in which he died. 'He did not confine his efforts to the reformation of his own church; but, as a good and large-minded man, he sought to rectify abuses throughout the world.'⁴ He is described as of 'a fiery temperament,'⁵ with 'a proneness to irritability,' and in spite of his 'rectitude of life' and a 'simplicity of character (which) rendered him open and ingenuous,' 'the liberty of speech he allowed himself was offensive to very many.'⁶ Yet his personal influence was great and his affections strong. In his youth, according to Sozomen, he persuaded two of his companions in the school of Libanius to accompany him in his studies with Diodorus, and thus won for the Church two great bishops, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Maximus of Seleucia.⁷ Over Theodore his influence was

¹ Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, viii. 2.

² *Vide* Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegesischen Gebiete*, p. 60.

³ Sozomen, viii. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, viii. 3.

⁵ Socrates, vi. 15.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vi. 4.

⁷ Sozomen, viii. 2.

lasting and momentous. Chrysostom's letters show an extraordinary power over the minds and hearts of men. Gibbon calls the years of his exile 'the most glorious of his life.'¹ Newman ascribes the charm of his expositions of Scripture to 'his power of throwing himself into the minds of others, of imaging with exactness and with sympathy circumstances or scenes which were not before him, and of bringing out what he has apprehended in words as direct and vivid as the apprehension.'² He seems to have been, not only 'a man of marvellous knowledge' and 'sanctity of life,'³ but also a 'son of thunder' and an apostle of love. His writings are very numerous, but chiefly exegetical and practical, consisting of sermons, letters and treatises. His sermons 'cover practically the whole Bible. . . . The pupil of Diodorus of Tarsus is easily to be recognised in his sober exegesis.'⁴ His volume *On the Priesthood* is one of the best on the work of the Christian minister that has ever been written.

10. Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, was also a pupil of Diodorus at Antioch, and the most distinguished exegete of the school. He was a great teacher for nearly fifty years, at first in Antioch and then in Mopsuestia.

Theodore (c. 350-428) was born at Antioch of a family conspicuous for wealth and influence. Like Chrysostom, he studied with Libanius, and afterwards under Diodorus, whose disciple he was in the fullest sense. In 383 he was made a presbyter of Antioch by Bishop Flavian, and without doubt taught in the school until he himself was made a bishop (392). According to Theodoret, Theodore was

¹ Gibbon, III. xxxii. p. 380. *Vide* article on 'Chrysostom' in Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

² Newman, *Historical Sketches*, ii. p. 289.

³ Gennadius, 30.

⁴ Preuschen, 'Chrysostom,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

‘a doctor of the whole Church and a successful combatant against every heretical phalanx. . . . He had enjoyed the teaching of the great Diodorus, and was the friend and fellow-worker of the holy John; for they both together benefited by the spiritual draughts given by Diodorus. Six and thirty years he had spent in his bishopric, fighting against the forces of Arius and Eunomius, struggling against the piratical band of Apollinaris, and finding the best pasture for God’s sheep.’¹

He wrote many dogmatic and polemic works, which have been only partially preserved. But his chief work was in Biblical exegesis, after the methods of the Antiochan school, covering a large part of the Old and New Testaments. Only a portion of this has been preserved, but all is of great value. Long after his death the Second Council of Constantinople (553) condemned him for supposed Christological errors, but unjustly, in order to appease the Monophysites.

11. *Theodoret of Cyrrhus, another member of the school of Antioch, was also distinguished for his exegetical writings.*

Theodoret (c. 393-457) was born at Antioch, brought up under the care of ascetics, and attained to exceptional learning in both sacred and classic literature. After years of training in the lower orders, he was made bishop of Cyrrhus in 432. The town of Cyrrhus was ‘insignificant,’ the diocese numbered 800 parishes, and was full of heresy. In Antioch Theodoret had won a great name for himself as a preacher. In Cyrrhus he used his powers of persuasion to win over heretics in large numbers. He himself declares :

‘I brought over to the truth eight villages of Marcionites, and others in their neighbourhood, and with their free consent. Another village, filled with Eunomians, another filled with Arians, I led into the light of divine knowledge. And by God’s grace, not even one blade of heretical cockle is left among us. Nor have I accomplished this without personal danger.’²

¹ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 39.

² Ep. 81.

Theodoret took a prominent part in the Nestorian controversy against the Alexandrians, and wrote in defence of Diodorus and Theodore. His works include dogmatic, apologetic and controversial treatises, letters, sermons, and histories. But his most important work was exegetical, and much of it has been preserved. As an exegete his ideal was high. He says :

‘The exegesis of the Divine Oracles demands a soul cleansed and spotless ; it demands also a keen intelligence which can penetrate into the things of God, and venture into the shrine of the Spirit. It needs, moreover, a tongue which can subserve that intelligence, and worthily interpret what it understands.’¹

The commentaries of Theodoret include almost all the books of the Old Testament and many of the New. Some suppose him to have studied with Theodore and Chrysostom ;² he was certainly their disciple in exegesis, and made such use of the works of the Antiochan exegetes, especially Theodore, that he is said to have ‘rescued the exegetical heritage of the school of Antioch as a whole for the Christian Church.’³

12. The school of Edessa is of unknown origin, but is probably as old as Christianity itself in that region, developing out of the school of the synagogue.

Christianity originated at Edessa in a Jewish community, at least as early as the beginning of the second century. The traditional apostle of Edessa was Addai, a Christian Jew from Palestine. The Jewish community had already translated the Old Testament into Syriac, the language of that region, showing an advanced state of culture at that time.⁴ About the year 172 Tatian returned from Rome to his native country, and is said by Epiphanius⁵ to have established in Mesopotamia a

¹ Theodoret, *In Cant.* ; *vide* Newman, *Historical Sketches*, ii. p. 334.

² Kihn, *Bedeutung d. Antioch. Schule*, p. 64.

³ Bonwetsch, ‘Theodoret,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁴ Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, pp. 71 seq.

⁵ Epiphanius, *Contra Hæreses*, xlvi. 1.

school, whose influence extended to Antioch. This must have been in the time of Bishop Hystaspes, and Epiphanius can only have referred to Edessa. Tatian's *Diatessaron* became the Gospel for the Syrian Church, until the episcopate of Rabbula (411-435). There are two other Syriac texts of the separate Gospels which belong to this period, indicating a literary activity, especially in Biblical study, such as always afterwards characterised the school.

Bardesanes (c. 154-223) was active at Edessa from 179 to 216, after his baptism by Hystaspes, bishop and one of Addai's successors. He was influential with the king (Abgar) of his time ; and according to Barhebræus, 'he taught the doctrine of the Church at Edessa.'¹ In his writings he uses the form of the dialogue, which belongs to the catechetical method of teaching ; and it may well be that he was a teacher of the school.

Julius Africanus came under the influence of Bardesanes, and spent some years in Edessa, before he went to the school of Alexandria. Bardesanes, like Tatian, had Gnostic tendencies, and was charged with heresy by later writers. He was excommunicated by the bishop who succeeded Hystaspes ; but his views of Christianity were rather crude than heretical. He even deserves great credit for his part in the extension of Christianity in Mesopotamia, Persia and the far East. Renan calls him

'a sort of Numenius, conversant with all the philosophies, all the religions, all the sects. He was sincerely a Christian ; he was even an ardent preacher of Christianity, almost a missionary : but all the Christian schools through which he passed left some mark upon his spirit ; though none detained him. Only Marcion, with his austere asceticism, displeased him altogether. Valentinianism, on the contrary, in its oriental form, was the doctrine to which he continually reverted. . . . After having enchanted

¹ *Vide* Hort, 'Bardaisan,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

his generation by his brilliant preaching, by his ardent idealism, and by his personal charm, he was overwhelmed with anathemas, he was classed among the Gnostics—he who had never wished to be classed.¹

Bardesanes was the author of psalms and hymns, which have mostly been lost, and of polemic works against Marcion and other heretics. Duchesne describes him as at once a Plato and a Pindar.²

Eusebius calls him ‘a most able man and a most skilful disputant in the Syriac tongue,’ and ascribes to him controversial and ‘many other works.’ ‘His pupils, of whom he had very many (for he was a powerful defender of the faith), translated these productions from the Syriac into Greek.’³ Jerome remarks: ‘If so much force and brilliancy appears in the translation, how great must it have been in the original !’⁴ He ascribes to Bardesanes ‘the reputation among the Syrians of having been a brilliant genius and vehement in argument.’ Both Jerome and Eusebius mention with praise a treatise *On Fate*, ‘a most remarkable and strong work,’ which represents Bardesanes in discussion with his pupils, and is now supposed by many to have been written by one of them, though fairly representing his own ideas and methods of teaching.

Harmonius, the son of Bardesanes, trained at first by his father and afterwards at Athens, continued his teaching at Edessa, and is said to have surpassed him in ‘the seductive harmony of his hymns.’⁵ Sozomen says of Harmonius :

‘It is related that he was deeply versed in Grecian erudition, and was the first to subdue his native tongue to metres and musical laws ; these verses he delivered to the choirs, and even

¹ Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, pp. 436 seq.; *vide* Duval, *Histoire Politique, Religieuse et Littéraire d'Edesse*, pp. 115 seq.

² Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Église*, i. p. 454.

³ Eusebius, iv. 30.

⁴ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 33.

⁵ Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, p. 119.

now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise copies by Harmonius, but the same melodies.¹

‘The followers of Bardesanes seem,’ as McGiffert says, ‘to have emphasised those points in which he differed with the Church at large, and thus to have departed further from catholic orthodoxy.’² The sect persisted until the fifth century.

13. *In the third century the school of Edessa had the honour of training Lucian under the teacher Macarius.*

At the commencement of the third century Abgar IX., the friend of Bardesanes, came under the influence of the Roman Empire, journeyed to Rome, and after his return embraced Christianity.³ Not long after, Serapion, the bishop of Antioch, consecrated *Palut* bishop of Edessa. This was resented by the eastern Christians, who adhered to their own traditions ; and a schism originated in the church, as is usual in conflicts of jurisdiction. *Palut* authorised the use of the four separated Gospels in his congregations, over against the *Diatessaron* of Tatian ; and, according to Burkitt,⁴ we may trace the Curetonian and other early Syriac versions to this period and to his influence ; but he was unable to overcome the use of Tatian’s *Harmony*. Edessa passed more and more under Roman influence, and in 216 the country became a Roman province. Three of the successors of *Palut* during the third century are known by name : ‘Abschelama, Barsamya the martyr (c. 250-260), and Qona (c. 290). During this period Edessa as a border fortress suffered from almost constant warfare and from repeated persecutions, which must have greatly interfered with Christian education. Odaenathus took possession of the

¹ Sozomen, iii. 16.

² McGiffert, *Eusebius* : ‘Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,’ series II. vol. i. p. 210, n. 2.

³ *Vide* Duval, *Hist. d’Édesse*, pp. 60 seq. ; Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 27.

⁴ Burkitt, *ibid.*, p. 77.

city in 264. Eight years later the kingdom ruled by his widowed queen Zenobia was brought to an end through her defeat and capture by Aurelian.

It was during this brief period that Lucian removed from Edessa to Antioch. He had been trained at Edessa under *Macarius*, and doubtless himself was a Syrian. It is probable that he began his textual studies in the place where so much work upon the Syrian Bible had already been done. Of *Macarius* nothing further is known.

14. *During the fourth century the school of Edessa reached its most flourishing condition under Ephræm, the Syrian.*

Eusebius of Emesa, as well as Lucian, received his early training at Edessa before going to Antioch. Sozomen states that, 'according to the custom of his country, he had from his youth upwards learned the Holy Word, and was afterwards made acquainted with the learning of the Greeks, by the teachers who then frequented his native city.'¹ Socrates quotes his biographer, George of Laodicea, as saying that 'from a child he had studied the Holy Scriptures,' and was 'afterwards instructed in Greek literature by a master resident at Edessa.'² Not even the influence of *Eusebius of Cæsarea* was sufficient to wean him from those methods of study which he had acquired at Edessa and found again in the school of Lucian at Antioch.

Another great scholar connected with both Edessa and Antioch was *Aphraates* (*Afrahat*), 'the Persian Sage,' whose writings belong to the first half of the century, and of whom little else is known. His principal work consists of twenty-two homilies, composed in 337-345, in exposition of the Christian faith, and whose initial letters follow the order of the Semitic alphabet.

¹ Sozomen, iii. 6.

² Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 9.

In the fourth century 'the school of the Persians' at Edessa became noted as a centre for theological learning. Duval thinks that this school was founded after the capture of Nisibis by the Persians in 363, when Ephræm and a large body of the people left Nisibis for Edessa. Referring to Ephræm's commentary on Genesis for evidence that he taught in Edessa, Duval states that he was 'without doubt professor in the school of the Persians.'¹ Kihn distinguishes the Persian school from the school of Ephræm 'among all the schools of Edessa,' and describes the latter as weathering the Monophysite storms, and 'holding the path between the two extremes of the allegorical-mystical and the rational-grammatical methods.'² Bardenhewer says that 'the theological school of Edessa was not only a seminary for the Persian clergy, but also the centre of all the academic and literary activity of Syria.'³ It seems most probable that the school of Edessa, like that of Antioch, included more than one group of students; and that to the bishop's school were added, in the course of time, cloister schools and possibly also a theological seminary for Persian students. In this larger sense the school of Edessa certainly reached its 'highest development in the course of the fourth century, when Ephræm appears as at once its greatest doctor and the best representative of its peculiar characteristics.'⁴

Ephræm Syrus (c. 308-373) was born and spent the greater part of his life in Nisibis; but his removal to Edessa was so momentous in its effect upon the Edessene school that it must be considered here, although much of his work, both as teacher and writer, was done in his native place. He had a host of pupils, 'who were zealously attached to his doctrines.' Among

¹ Duval, *Histoire d'Edesse*, pp. 145, 152, 160.

² Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule*, p. 84.

³ Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 384.

⁴ Bardenhewer, *ibid.*

these may be mentioned Zenobius, a deacon of Edessa, Mar Isaac, Asuna, Julian, Simeon, Abha, and Abraham. In the most celebrated of his disciples 'the Syrians and whoever among them pursued accurate learning made a great boast.'¹ During this period of his life Ephræm is said to have visited the monks in the Egyptian desert and Basil in his Cappadocian see. Basil made him a deacon, and wished to make him a bishop; but Ephræm refused. According to Sozomen, Basil 'was a great admirer of Ephræm, and was astonished at his erudition.' He was indeed a voluminous writer, and the author of commentaries, homilies, and dogmatic treatises, and especially of hymns and religious poems of every kind. One of his commentaries was on Tatian's *Diatessaron*. His works were translated into Greek, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic. Jerome says that Ephræm 'became so distinguished that his writings are repeated publicly in some churches, after the reading of the Scriptures,' and adds: 'I once read in Greek a volume by him on the Holy Spirit, which some one had translated from the Syriac, and recognised even in translation the incisive power of lofty genius.'² Duval remarks:

'These hymns and these homilies served as models to the fathers of the Syrian Church, who cultivated this variety of literature: they took their place in the rituals, breviaries, and collections for divine service among the orthodox as well as among the Jacobites and the Nestorians.'³

Sozomen describes the style of Ephræm as 'so replete with splendid oratory, and with richness and temperateness of thought, that he surpassed the most approved writers of Greece.'⁴ The controversial hymn, which proved an effective weapon against heresy, is said to have originated with him. Neale remarks that 'hymns occupy in the Eastern Church a space beyond all com-

¹ Sozomen, iii. 16.

³ Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, p. 157.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 115.

⁴ Sozomen, iii. 16.

parison greater than they do in the Latin . . . the body of the Eastern breviary is ecclesiastical poetry.¹

15. During the fifth century the school of Edessa came under the control of the great bishop Rabbula, after which it declined, owing to the controversies, which the Council of Chalcedon tried in vain to determine.

At this period we catch only occasional glimpses of the school.

1. There arose in the first part of the century, according to Wright, 'one of the stars of Syriac literature, Isaac, commonly called the Great, of Antioch.' He forms another link between these two cities and their schools. As a young man he went to Edessa and studied in the school of Ephræm, some say with Ephræm, others with his disciple Zenobius. He also visited Rome and other cities, and finally settled in a monastery near Antioch. His works are 'nearly as voluminous and varied as those of Ephræm,' and 'include nearly two hundred metrical homilies.'²

2. Rabbula (411-435) was a great executive, and used his influence against the native Syrian tendencies and in favour of the Greek. The Peshitto version of the New Testament, based on the Lucian text of Antioch, was probably made under his patronage.³ He wrote canons and monastic rules, also letters and many hymns. He espoused the Chalcedonian decisions against Nestorianism, and one of his measures is said to have been the removal of the teachers of the theological school, for their Nestorian tendencies. By such measures he alienated the Syriac Christians; and the division that ensued, especially after his death, carried the greater part of the Syrians into heterodoxy. The Eastern Syrians became Nestorians, the Western Monophysites.

¹ Neale, *Hymns of the Holy Eastern Church*, pp. 34 seq.

² Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, pp. 51 seq.

³ *Vide* Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 78.

3. *Ibas* (Hibha, † 457), the successor of Rabbula, favoured Nestorianism. In his youth he translated the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Diodorus of Tarsus with the aid of 'Couma, Probus and Ma'ne, disciples of the school of the Persians.'¹ Under his protection the school revived.² His disciples, Mari and Elitha, taught as professors there, and were active in spreading his views. He was deposed, indeed, by the Robber Synod at Ephesus, in 449; but the Council of Chalcedon (451) restored him to his see. From that time onward for nearly forty years the school continued its work. At last, in 489, under the influence of Bishops Nonnus and Cyrus, the Emperor Zeno interposed, the teachers were banished, the scholars disbanded, and the famous school of Edessa came to an end.

16. *The origin of the school of Nisibis is obscure. It was probably founded before the middle of the fourth century.*

Jacob the Wise, first or second bishop of Nisibis († 338), ruled as bishop for nearly thirty years, and was active at the Council of Nicæa. He is called by Loofs the founder of the school.³ Under him and his successors *Ephræm Syrus* received his training as a Christian. According to Theodoret, Ephræm was 'totally untainted by heathen education.'⁴ Sozomen says :

'Although he received no instruction, he became, contrary to all expectation, so proficient in the learning and language of the Syrians, that he comprehended with ease the most abstruse theorems of philosophy.'⁵

Nisibis was captured by the Persians in 363, and that was the year in which Ephræm left there, to settle before long

¹ Duval, *Histoire Politique, Religieuse, et Littéraire d'Édesse jusqu'à la première Croisade*, p. 174.

² Vüle Kihu, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule auf dem exegetischen Gebiete*, p. 86; Moore, 'The Theological School at Nisibis,' in *Studies in the History of Religions: Presented to C. H. Toy*, p. 257.

³ Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 37.

⁴ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 26.

⁵ Sozomen, iii. 16.

at Edessa. Therefore all but ten of the years of his active literary life were spent at Nisibis ; and since he became a noted teacher in Edessa, it is probable that he taught, as he certainly wrote, in Nisibis. His fame as a poet had begun to spread before he left there. He was soon to become known, in all parts of the Church, as 'the prophet of the Syrians,' 'the lyre of the Holy Ghost.'

17. *The school of Nisibis was refounded in 489 by the professors expelled from Edessa in that year, and Narsai was placed at its head. It continued to be a great school for a long period, and its influence extended even to the West.*

When the professors of the school of Edessa were expelled for their Nestorianism, they went to the Persian city Nisibis, where the Christians were Nestorians. The bishop at that time was *Barsumas* (Bar Sauma, 435-489), who had taught in the school of Edessa, and been driven from there in the time of *Rabbula* (c. 432), or, as some think, about the time that *Ibas* was deposed. He was a man of ability and a writer of some importance. He gave to the exiles from Edessa a cordial reception ; and *Narsai*, his friend and former associate, was made head of the school. It is not known whether the school existed before the arrival of the expelled professors or not ; but it is certain that the emigration gave to the school such an impulse that it became the great seat of learning for all the Nestorians. *Narsai* was the author of many commentaries, and of metrical discourses and hymns. He had many pupils, among whom may be mentioned *Mar Aba*, whose writings included a work on canon law in addition to the usual Syrian productions : commentaries, homilies and hymns. He was succeeded by his nephew *Abraham* (c. 520), who is said to have been exiled from Edessa with *Barsumas*, and to have studied at Nisibis under *Narsai*. He also composed commentaries and hymns.

His successors in the school were *John*, also a pupil of Narsai, who wrote commentaries, hymns and polemic works; *Joseph*, another disciple, 'the first Syriac grammarian,'¹ († c. 580); and *Hannana*, under whom the school reached its greatest popularity, numbering no less than eight hundred pupils. Hannana was the author of commentaries, an exposition of the Nicene Creed, and discourses on doctrinal and liturgical questions. But his views were not in accord with Nestorian traditions, and so he was deposed by a synod in 596.

Through Barsumas, Narsai and their associates, Edessa repaid the debt which she incurred when Ephræm came to her from Nisibis. These exiles carried with them the stores of learning and methods of instruction acquired at Edessa. Duval states that Rabbula, Ibas, and the doctors of the school of Edessa wrote and spoke Greek fluently.² At Nisibis the exiled scholars and their disciples undertook the translation of Greek writings, including those of Aristotle. Mar Aba is said to have translated into Syriac the Greek text of the Old Testament. The study of the Scriptures was made fundamental in Nisibis, as at Antioch and Edessa. The school had interesting statutes,³ which are still extant, consisting of rules 'adopted in 496, shortly after its foundation, and reaffirmed in 530; and new regulations from the year 590.'⁴ These are chiefly rules of conduct. There were several teachers; one of reading, another of writing, a third of singing; but the principal teacher was the interpreter of Scripture. The course of study extended over three years. One of the teachers of this school in the sixth century, Paul of Nisibis, was influential in the

¹ Wright, *Hist. Syr. Lit.*, pp. 115 seq.

² Duval, *Hist. d'Edesse*, p. 180.

³ Vide Guidi, in *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, iv. (1890), 165 seq.; Nestle, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, xviii. (1897-1898), 211 seq.; *Catholic University Bulletin*, 1906.

⁴ Moore, *Stud. Hist. Relig.*, p. 258.

west through Junilius Africanus and Cassiodorus.¹ The former in his *Instituta* used copiously a lost work of Paul on the study of the Bible ; the latter sought to organise in Rome a school of theology modelled after that of Nisibis. Of Paul and his work Moore writes :

‘ On a visit to Constantinople, Primasius [of North Africa] had asked Junilius whether there was any one among the Greeks who was conspicuous in Biblical science. Junilius replied that he had met a certain Paul, a Persian . . . who had been educated in the school of the Syrians at Nisibis, “ where instruction in the Divine Law is systematically and regularly given by public professors, as among us grammar and rhetoric are taught as branches of secular learning.” Junilius had obtained from him a text-book on hermeneutics which he was accustomed to give in the form of lectures to his students at the beginning of their course as an introduction to the study of Scripture. Of this book Junilius sent Primasius a Latin translation in catechetic form, under the title *Instituta regularia divinæ legis*. . . . The Nestorian Church in the sixth century seems to have been in advance of any other branch of the Church in the systematic education of its ministry by a three years’ course in an institution exclusively devoted to theological study.’²

The sixth century was for the Syrians a period of extraordinary literary activity,³ and many works of interest were produced, yet none, save that of Paul, of lasting importance for the development of theological scholarship. But in the seventh century appeared a scholar of more than temporary importance. *Jacob of Edessa* (c. 640-708) was trained in a monastery, and studied for a time at Alexandria. He was made bishop of Edessa, and drew up a set of canonical rules for his clergy ; but the attempt to enforce them gave such offence that he was forced to resign from his office. For many years he lived in monastic seclusion, devoting himself chiefly to the study of the Scriptures. He was a Greek scholar, at a time when Greek was neglected ;

¹ *Vide* pp. 197 ff.

² Moore, *Stud. Hist. Relig.*, pp. 263 seq.

³ Duval, *Hist. d’Édesse*, pp. 218 seq.

and he taught the Scriptures in that language. He is said to have 'excelled in all branches of knowledge.'¹ Wright says :²

'He was, for his time, a man of great culture and wide reading, being familiar with Greek and with older Syriac writers. Of Hebrew he probably understood very little, but he was always ready, like Aphraates, to avail himself of the aid of Jewish scholars, whose opinion he often cites. He appears before us as at once a theologian, historian, philosopher, and grammarian, as a translator of various Greek works, and as the indefatigable correspondent of many students, who sought his advice and assistance from far and near. As a theologian, Jacob wrote commentaries on the Old and New Testaments, which are cited by later authors.'

Among the important works of Jacob may be mentioned revisions of the Peshitto text of the Old Testament, and of the liturgy of St. James, translations of Greek works, and various writings on the worship and discipline of the Church, homilies, metrical discourses, a chronicle in continuation of Eusebius' *Church History*, treatises on philosophy and philology, and valuable letters. As a grammarian he 'occupies an important place in Syriac literature.' He was recalled to his see on the death of Habbibh, his successor there ; but died himself a few months later. 'In the literature of his country (he) holds much the same place as Jerome among the Latin fathers.'³

Other schools were established by the Syrian Christians, and the great monasteries, like those in which Jacob taught and studied, were important centres of theological education ; but none of these rivalled the school of Nisibis, which remained for several centuries 'the principal institution for the training of the clergy of Persia, and of the Nestorian missionaries, who carried Christianity to the remotest quarters of Asia.'⁴ In the

¹ Duval, *Hist. d'Édesse*, p. 241.

² Wright, *Hist. Syr. Lit.*, pp. 142 seq.

³ Wright, *ibid.*

⁴ Moore, *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 258.

eighth century, however, all the Chaldaic schools declined,¹ and by the ninth that of Nisibis was forced to 'yield the pre-eminence to the school at Bagdad.'² Yet it continued to maintain the principles of the school of Antioch, and, imparting these to the Arabic scholars and Jewish expositors of the Middle Ages, made its influence felt through them in the Church of the West.³

¹ Kihn, *Die Bedeutung der Antiochenischen Schule*, p. 87.

² Moore, *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 258.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 451 seq.

CHAPTER IV

OTHER EASTERN SCHOOLS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH

1. *Christians at Athens received their ordinary religious education in the bishop's school, but their higher education in the public schools and the university.*

There seems never to have been a higher Christian school at Athens; but gradually Christian teachers began to give instruction by the side of the pagan teachers in the public schools. Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen studied at Athens under the Christian teacher Proæresius and the pagan Himerius; and at one time (355) Julian the Apostate was their fellow-student. These must have been distinguished teachers to draw to Athens the young Julian, soon to be emperor, and such able scholars as the two Cappadocians. Diodorus also resorted to Athens for a while; although, as we have seen, he belongs rather to the school of Antioch.

Himerius (born c. 315) taught in Athens for nearly forty years. He could say to his pupils: 'What blended sound of flute and pipes can touch your souls like the simple accents of this chair?' ¹ According to Gregory,²

'most of the young men at Athens (were) mad after rhetorical skill. . . . They (were) just like men devoted to horses . . . at the horse-races.' Athens was 'hurtful' to many 'in spiritual

¹ Capes, *University Life in Ancient Athens*, pp. 114 seq.; cited by Sandys, i. p. 351.

² Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration xlivi. 15-22.*

things ; and this (was) of no slight consequence to the pious, for the city (was) richer in those evil riches—idols, than the rest of Greece, and it (was) hard to avoid being carried along with their devotees and adherents. . . . Yet we (says Gregory), our minds being closed up and fortified against this, suffered no injury. On the contrary, strange as it may seem, we were thus the more confirmed in the faith. . . . And we were surrounded by a far from ignoble band.'

Of this band Basil was the leader.

' We ran on foot beside that Lydian car ; . . . and so we became famous, not only among our own teachers and comrades, but even throughout Greece, and especially in the eyes of its most distinguished men. We even passed beyond its boundaries . . . for our instructors were known to all who knew Athens, and all who knew them, knew us . . . being actually looked upon, or heard of by report, as an illustrious pair. . . . To us two roads were known : . . . the one leading to our sacred buildings and the teachers there ; the other to secular instructors. All others—(those) to feasts, theatres, meetings, banquets—we left to those who would pursue them.'

Gregory was in Athens something like twelve years in all ; and he and Basil could hardly tear themselves away : ' for there is nothing so painful to any one as is separation from Athens and one another to those who have been comrades there.' Many years after, Gregory wrote :

' I take it as admitted by men of sense, that the first of our advantages is education ; and not only this our more noble form of it, . . . but even that external culture, which many Christians ill-judgingly abhor, as treacherous and dangerous, and keeping us afar from God.' ¹

Basil also, in one of his homilies, testified to the value of a training in classical literature.

Soon after Julian became emperor (362), he forbade Christian teachers to give instruction in the grammar and rhetorical schools, or ' the children of Christians from frequenting the public schools, and from being in-

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration xlivi. 11.*

structed in the writings of the Greek poets and authors. . . . His sole motive was, . . . because he considered such studies conducive to the acquisition of argumentative and persuasive power.'¹

2. The three great Cappadocians were essentially Platonists, and in general sympathy with the direction given by the school of Alexandria. They deserve the credit for the formula that finally settled the Arian controversy.

1. Basil (c. 330-379) was born at Cæsarea, Cappadocia, and brought up, as he says, by his grandmother, 'the celebrated Macrina, who taught (him) the words of the most blessed Gregory' (Thaumaturgus), and 'fashioned and formed (him), while yet a child, upon the doctrines of piety.'² His father, advocate, teacher of rhetoric and 'the common instructor of virtue'³ to all of Pontus, introduced him to secular learning. 'When sufficiently trained at home,' he took his place in the schools of Cæsarea, and is said to have equalled his masters and surpassed his classmates 'in every form of culture.' From Cæsarea he went to Constantinople and finally to Athens, 'the home of letters,' where Gregory had preceded him. The two soon became 'all in all to one another, housemates, messmates, intimates.' They seemed to have 'one soul inhabiting two bodies.'⁴ Here also Basil excelled all his fellows. 'His galleon was laden with all the learning attainable by the nature of man.' After five years of study Basil tore himself from his friends at Athens and returned to practise rhetoric at Cæsarea. But after a time he determined to undertake the ascetic life, and travelled to Alexandria, the Egyptian desert, Palestine, and elsewhere, seeking examples in monastic perfection. He finally retired to the neighbourhood of the family estate at Annesi, and

¹ Sozomen, v. 18.

³ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration xx.*

² Basil, *Ep.* 204.

⁴ Gregory, *ibid.*, xlivi. 13-24.

there acquired by practical experiment the ideals embodied in his famous monastic rule.

‘He reconciled most excellently and united the solitary and the community life. . . . He founded cells for ascetics and hermits, but at no great distance from his cenobitic communities ; and, instead of distinguishing and separating the one from the other, as if by some intervening wall, he brought them together and united them, in order that the contemplative spirit might not be cut off from society, nor the active life be uninfluenced by the contemplative ; but that, like sea and land, by an interchange of their several gifts, they might unite in promoting the one object, the glory of God.’¹

Basil himself writes in his rule :

‘God has made us, like the members of our body, to need one another’s help. For what discipline of humility, of pity, or of patience can there be, if there be no one to whom these duties are to be practised ? Whose feet wilt thou wash—whom wilt thou serve—how canst thou be last of all, if thou art alone ?’²

Himself a great ascetic, Basil became the founder and patron of Eastern monasticism in its permanent form. His order has continued, and his rules have been observed until the present day. Of great importance was his admission of children to his monasteries for education. The spread of his order meant the multiplying of monastic schools.

In 364 Basil was ordained a presbyter, and six years later the bishop of Cæsarea. He was the idol of his people, but the object of jealousy and suspicion to many of his fellow-bishops. Exarch of Pontus as well as metropolitan of Cappadocia, ‘his authority extended over more than half Asia Minor, and embraced as many as eleven provinces.’ He became involved in a serious conflict of jurisdiction, in the Arian controversy, and in difficulties with former friends in the episcopal body. His own orthodoxy was suspected, because of ‘the large-heartedness which led him to recognise a real oneness of

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration xlivi. 62.*

² Basil, *Reg. Resp.* vii.

belief under varying technical formulas.'¹ He was 'coldly treated,' even by the Latin world, 'suspected of heresy by Damasus, and accused by Jerome of pride.'²

Gregory remarks :

'What they term pride is, I fancy, the firmness and steadfastness and stability of his character. Such persons would readily, it seems to me, call bravery rashness, and the circumspect a coward, and the temperate misanthropic, and the just illiberal.'³

In a memorable contest with the Arian Emperor Valens and his representative Modestus, the prefect reported to the emperor : 'We have been worsted, Sire, by the prelate of this church. He is superior to threats, invincible in argument, uninfluenced by persuasion.'⁴

Basil's episcopate was marked by a thorough reform of his clergy, a reform of public worship, and the establishment of great charitable institutions for the relief of suffering and the care of the helpless. The group of buildings which he founded attained such proportions that it was called 'the New City,' and then by his own name the 'Basileiad.' As for his 'eloquence and his powers of instruction,' Gregory cries :

'If any one ever has become, or can become, a trumpet, in his far sounding resonance ; or a voice of God, embracing the universe ; or an earthquake of the world... it is his voice and intellect which deserve these titles. . . . Whenever I handle his *Hexaëmeron* . . . I am brought into the presence of the Creator. . . . Whenever I take up his polemical works, I see the fire of Sodom. . . . Whenever I read his writings on the Spirit, I find the God whom I possess, and grow bold in my utterance of the truth, from the support of his theology and contemplation. His other treatises . . . lead me on from a mere literal or symbolical interpretation to a still wider view, as I proceed from one depth to another, calling upon deep after deep, and finding light after light, until I attain the highest pinnacle. When I study his panegyrics on our athletes, I despise the body . . . and rouse

¹ Venables, 'Basil,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

² Newman, *Church of the Fathers*, p. 115.

³ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xlivi. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.* 51.

myself to the struggle. His moral and practical discourses purify soul and body, making me a temple fit for God, and an instrument struck by the Spirit, to celebrate by its strains the glory and power of God. . . . Basil's beauty was virtue, his greatness theology, his course the perpetual motion reaching by its ascents even unto God, and his power the sowing and distribution of the Word.'¹

Basil's principal writings include a polemic *Against Eunomius*, letters, homilies, a monastic rule, canonical epistles, and that revision of public worship which underlies the earliest form of the liturgy that bears his name.

2. *Gregory Nazianzen*, 'the theologian' (c. 329-389), was born near Nazianzus, and trained in the schools of Cæsarea, where he first met with Basil. He calls the Cappadocian town an 'illustrious city . . . the guide and mistress of (his) studies, the metropolis of letters.' He left it only to seek new instructors in Palestine, at Alexandria, and finally at Athens, which became to him 'a city truly of gold, and the patroness of all that is good.'² When Basil resisted every effort of his teachers and fellow-students to detain him in Athens, Gregory yielded to their persuasion; but he could not long endure Athens without Basil, and 'like the horse in Homer, burst the bonds of those who restrained (him), and prancing over the plains rushed to (his) mate.'³ Out of devotion to his parents he resisted the entreaties of his friend that he would retire from the world. But he paid a long visit to Basil in his monastic retreat, and together they prepared an anthology of Origen's works. Basil's interest in medicine was shared by Gregory, who says: 'Though inferior to him in all other respects, in distress I must needs be his equal.'⁴ Of Basil's theology he cried: 'Let it be mine, and that of all dear to me. . . . I take him for my partner in this, as in all else.'⁵ Gregory

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration xlivi. 65-67.*

² Gregory, *ibid.*, xlivi. 13, 14.

⁴ Gregory, *ibid.*, 61.

³ Gregory, *ibid.*, 24.

⁵ Gregory, *ibid.*, 69.

was ordained a presbyter much against his will, and delivered an oration giving his views on the Priestly Office.

Of the importance of study he writes :

‘To undertake the training of others before being sufficiently trained oneself, and to learn, as men say, the potter’s art on a wine-jar, that is, to practise ourselves in piety at the expense of others’ souls, seems to me to be excessive folly or excessive rashness—folly, if we are not even aware of our own ignorance ; rashness, if in spite of this knowledge we venture on the task.’¹

Gregory showed the same reluctance when Basil made him a bishop in 372. Against such compulsory ordination he protests :

‘There is not a physician who has not first studied the nature of diseases, or a painter who has not mixed many colours, or practised drawing: but a prelate is easily found, without laborious training, with a reputation of recent date, being sown and springing up in a moment, as the legend of the giants goes. Those who are holy we manufacture in a day ; and bid those to be wise who have had no instruction.’²

True to his high ideals, and with characteristic humility, Gregory served as bishop only when compelled by necessity, and chiefly in his father’s diocese, as his assistant or substitute. But in 379 he responded to the call which came from Constantinople for a defender of the Nicene faith. It was there that he preached his celebrated *Theological Orations*, his greatest work, to which he owes his title, ‘the theologian.’ These five Orations produced a profound impression. Such men as Jerome and Evagrius came to Gregory for instruction. Jerome is proud to call him ‘my instructor in the Scriptures.’³ He was even made patriarch, and in 381 presided at the Council of Constantinople. But he felt himself unequal or unwilling to maintain a position which could only be held at the cost of bitter conflict,

¹ Gregory, *Oration* ii. 47.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 117.

² Gregory, *Oration* xlivi. 26.

and in the interests of peace he soon retired from the field. His writings include numerous orations, letters, and poems.

3. *Gregory of Nyssa*, a younger brother of Basil († after 394), was trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools, but not in the university. Little is known of his life. He seems to have practised as a rhetorician for some years, but was finally made a bishop in 372. His see was small, yet he did not escape persecution, and was forced to remain away from Nyssa until after the death of Valens. He was prominent at the Council of Constantinople in 381. His writings include exegetical, dogmatic, controversial and ascetic works, as well as homilies and letters. The most important of these are his great *Catechetical Oration*, his *Antirrhetic against Apollinaris*, and his work *Against Eunomius*. Like Gregory Nazianzen, he was under the influence of both Origen and Athanasius, yet felt the sway of other schools also. By his reading he made up to a large extent for what he had missed in the way of university training, and is regarded by some scholars as the most original and independent thinker of the great Cappadocians. All three were distinguished by much liberality of spirit and persuasive power of speech. The final victory of the Nicene faith over the various forms of heresy was accomplished chiefly by a more careful and accurate definition of its technical terms, and especially by the distinction in the Godhead of the three hypostases, or persons. It was the merit of the three great Cappadocians that they found a term upon which both East and West could agree: they succeeded in giving to *hypostasis* a definite meaning, which made it appropriate for use in the distinction of the three persons of the Trinity.¹

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 239 seq. ; *Theological Symbolics*, p. 94.

3. *The public schools of Athens continued to be the great stronghold of heathenism, until they were closed by Justinian in 529. They had little influence upon Christianity during this period, but at their dissolution the pseudonymous writings of Dionysius the Areopagite perpetuated the Neo-Platonic mysticism of the school.*

The edict of Julian had made the school of Athens altogether heathen ; and it seems never to have recovered its influence with Christians. It had a great influence, however, under Julian as a stronghold of Neo-Platonism and of the Greek religion, but losing his protection it declined. It revived for a time under Proclus (410-485), the most famous Neo-Platonist of his age, who is said to have taught there for forty-seven years,¹ but languished under his successors, Marinus, Isidorus and Hegias. Once more it revived, and for the last time, under Damascius, who was presiding when its doors were closed by the edict of 529. Justinian by this act destroyed the last stronghold of the Greek religion, but at the same time wrought an irreparable injury to Greek culture. The decree was issued in the interests of Christianity ; yet in fact it did great harm to Christianity by lowering the standard of education in the empire. Three years later seven of the Athenian teachers, including Damascius, sought refuge at the court of Persia, but returned ere long to settle in Alexandria.²

Soon after the close of the school of Athens occurs the first mention of the writings of 'Dionysius the Areopagite,' whose Christian mysticism and Neo-Platonism were of immense influence upon both Eastern and Western Scholasticism. According to Sandys,

'their many coincidences with the teaching of Proclus and Damascius have led to their author being identified as a Christian Neo-Platonist, and to their date being assigned to c. 480-520. The works on the heavenly and on the ecclesiastical hierarchy (with

¹ *Vide* Sandys, i. pp. 372 seq.

² *Vide* Sandys, i. p. 375.

the triple triads in each), and those on the Divine Names and on mystical theology, had their influence on the “angelology,” the mysticism, and (in the case of Joannes Scotus) the pantheism of the Middle Ages. Their author has been called the father of Scholasticism. He was specially studied by John of Damascus in the Eastern, and by [Thomas] Aquinas in the Western Church.¹

This pseudonymous work, in its influence of mixed good and evil, was the revenge of the school of Athens upon an intolerant Christianity.

4. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, represents the traditional ecclesiastical tendency which ultimately prevailed in the Church. He was noted for his zeal against heresy, and led a reactionary movement against Origen.

Epiphanius († 403), bishop of Salamis and metropolitan of the Island of Cyprus, was from the monastery of Eleutheropolis, Palestine, a foundation of his own, which he had ruled for many years. In his youth he had sojourned with the monks of Egypt, and had there come under the influence of the party hostile to the Origenists. According to Sozomen, he had been ‘instructed by the most famous ascetics,’ and ‘became most celebrated in Egypt and Palestine by his attainments in monastic philosophy.’ Sozomen adds: ‘He is, I think, the most venerated man under the whole heaven.’² He represented a tendency in the Church other than those of the schools of Antioch and Alexandria, namely, the traditional ecclesiastical tendency which ultimately prevailed. Jerome says that his many works are ‘eagerly read by the learned, on account of their subject matter, and also by the plain people, on account of their language.’³

His most important works are the *Ancoratus*, or *Anchored Fast*, written against Trinitarian heresies, and the *Panarion*, or *Medicine Chest*, against all heresies.

¹ Sandys, i. p. 376.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 114.

² Sozomen, vi. 32.

5. *Constantinople, as capital of the Roman empire, became a great seat of education.*

‘The imperial city of the East’ is described by Gregory Nazianzen as ‘distinguished by the eminence of its rhetoricians and philosophical teachers.’¹ Among them was Himerius, the famous rhetorician of Athens, who taught at one time in Constantinople, and doubtless helped to give that city its reputation as a seat of learning.

Themistius († before 395) ‘declined important appointments in Rome and Antioch, and spent most of his life at Constantinople, where he had a high reputation as an eloquent teacher. . . . Under several successive emperors he was practically the public orator of Constantinople, and the noblest use which he made of that position was to plead repeatedly for toleration in matters of religious belief and worship. He was highly esteemed by Christians and pagans alike. His Christian correspondent, Gregory Nazianzen, calls him “the king of eloquence.”² . . . He holds himself aloof from the Sophists of the day: “the Sophists might dwell contentedly in the unrealities of dreamland, but eternal verities alone engaged the attention of his class.”³ ’³

Libanius († c. 393), before settling at Antioch, taught for a time at Constantinople, ‘where his lectures became so popular, that in 343 rival teachers of rhetoric secured his expulsion from the city on a charge of “magic.”’⁴ Five years later he returned there, but found his enemies still in power, and eventually settled in Antioch, where, as we have seen, he became the teacher of Chrysostom and Theodore.

In his school at Constantinople *Amphilochius* was trained, the future bishop of Iconium, and, under

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, *Oration* xliii. 14.

² Gregory, *Ep.* 140.

³ Sandys, i. pp. 352 *seq.*

⁴ Article ‘Libanius,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Theodosius, the most important ecclesiastic in Asia Minor.¹ In his youth he served as advocate in Constantinople, but soon retired to Cappadocia, where he came under the influence of Basil and Gregory Nazianzen. In 373 he was made bishop of Iconium, where he became known as a 'blameless high-priest, the loud herald of truth.'² Jerome classes him with the two Cappadocians as writers 'who cram their books with the lessons and sentences of the philosophers to such an extent that you cannot tell which you ought to admire most in them, their secular erudition or their Scriptural knowledge.'³ Only fragments of the writings of Amphilochius remain.

6. After the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391, Ammonius and Helladius, two of the chief grammarians, fled to Constantinople, where they renewed their teaching. They became the instructors of Socrates, the Church historian, and the first of a series of historians of this school.⁴

1. *Socrates* was born at Constantinople (c. 308), and relates in his history that among the fugitive teachers from Alexandria were 'the two grammarians Helladius and Ammonius, whose pupil I was in my youth at Constantinople.'⁵

Socrates also studied with Troilus in his school of rhetoric, and became an advocate. His history is a continuation of that of Eusebius, beginning with the reign of Constantine and continuing until 439. It is arranged in seven books, the last two giving the history of his own time.

2. *Sozomen* was the third great Church historian.⁶ He was born in Palestine (c. 400), studied law in Beirut,

¹ Duchesne, ii. p. 584.

² Gregory Nazianzen, *Carm.*, ii. 1068; *vide* Lightfoot, 'Amphilochius,' in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

³ Jerome, *Ep.* 70.

⁴ *Vide* Sandys, i. p. 361.

⁵ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 16.

⁶ The first was Eusebius; *vide* p. 105.

and then went to Constantinople and practised law. He refers to a certain Aquilinus, as 'advocate in the same court of justice as that to which we belong.'¹ He wrote an outline of Church history, covering the same period as that of Eusebius, which has been lost; then a fuller Church history parallel with that of Socrates, in nine books.² Valesius, in the preface to his edition of Sozomen's work, compares these two historians, saying: 'Sozomen is superior in the elegance of his expression, yet Socrates excels him in judgment. For Socrates judges incomparably well, both of men and also of ecclesiastical business and affairs; and there is nothing in his works but what is grave and serious, nothing that can be expunged as superfluous. But on the contrary some passages occur in Sozomen that are trivial and childish.'³

3. *Theodore of Cyrrhus*, the fourth Church historian, was really a member of the school of Antioch, as we have seen,⁴ but Constantinople and Antioch were near akin. He wrote, in five books, of the period 325-429, *i.e.* to the time when the Nestorian controversy began. He also compiled a pious history of thirty famous ascetics.

4. *Philostorgius* was the fifth Church historian, and recorded the events from the time of Constantine until 425. He was born in Cappadocia (c. 368), studied at Constantinople, and became proficient in philosophy, geography, medicine and poetry, as well as in the seven 'liberal arts.' He was not orthodox, and favours the unorthodox in his history; he is therefore much condemned by orthodox writers. His work is preserved only in extracts, chiefly those given by Photius.

5. *Theodorus Lector* is the sixth of the Church historians. He was a Palestinian of the sixth century,

¹ Sozomen, ii. 3.

² *Ibid.*, i. 1.

³ *Vide* 'Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,' series II. vol. ii. p. 234.

⁴ *Vide* pp. 121 f.

and became a reader at Constantinople. He wrote, in two books, a compendium of the history of the times covered by Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, in a tripartite history, in which they are literally repeated. He then wrote a supplementary history, in two books, extending to the year 518, only portions of which have been preserved.

6. A seventh historian may be mentioned here, for convenience, the Syrian *Evagrius*, born in 536. He was thoroughly trained in the schools of grammar and rhetoric, and practised law in Antioch. His history, in six books, extends from 431 to 594, and is written from an orthodox point of view.

These Greek historians, so far as preserved, were printed and published by Valesius in three folio volumes, which have appeared in many editions, the earliest being that of Paris, 1659, and the best that of Cambridge, 1720. There were several other historians in the early Church, among them *Philip of Side*,¹ but all were of minor importance.

7. *Leontius of Byzantium, the adviser of Justinian, was the chief scholar produced by the school of Constantinople. He used the Aristotelian dialectic, and gave the final Christological solution for the Eastern Church.*

Leontius of Byzantium († 543) is supposed to have been born in Constantinople of a good family. His titles of *scholasticus* and *advocatus* imply that he was a trained scholar, as indeed his work shows. He was probably educated in the schools of Constantinople. At all events he exhibits the characteristics of that school. He was at first a Nestorian, but was converted from that error. He went to Rome in 519, and then to Jerusalem, where he remained for some time as a monk. In 531 he went to Constantinople to take part in theological discussions.

¹ *Vide* p. 100.

What the great Cappadocians had done for the Nicene Creed, Leontius did for the Chalcedonian Symbol. His explanation removed the most serious difficulty in the way of its acceptance.¹ In philosophy Leontius was an Aristotelian. He was the first to use the Aristotelian dialectic in the interest of dogmatic; and so with him began the Byzantine scholasticism. He was, as Harnack says, 'the most important dogmatic writer of the sixth century, the forerunner of John of Damascus, the teacher of (the emperor) Justinian,' 'the father of the new Christological orthodoxy.'² The most important of the works ascribed to Leontius are: a Solution of the Syllogisms proposed by Severus, and polemic writings against the Nestorians and Eutychians, against Severus, and against the Apollinarians. The last-named treatise, according to Loofs, is 'a masterpiece of patristic learning, possibly, though by no means certainly, from the same hand.'³

The Emperor Justinian († 565) strove to rally the different parties about the formula of Chalcedon by various interpretations of it, but in vain. He sought to force through the Christological interpretation of Leontius; and he finally succeeded, though only for the Greek and Latin, not for the Oriental world. He persecuted the school of Alexandria, the Origenists, on the one side, and the school of Antioch, in the writings of Theodoret and Ibas, on the other. Finally by his imperial authority he closed the philosophical and juridical schools of Athens. All independent scholarship became discredited throughout the eastern empire, and an imperial traditional orthodoxy, based on the decision of the œcumeneal councils, became dominant in the Greek Church for all subsequent times.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 308 seq.

² Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, p. 217.

³ Loofs, 'Leontius,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

8. *Scholarship declined in the East in the seventh century, revived in the eighth in John of Damascus, and then declined again during the long conflict over the worship of images.*

The eighth and ninth centuries were, in the East, centuries of battle over the use of images in worship. Few scholars appear, and only one of great value ; but he is of great importance, the last of the Greek fathers, *John of Damascus* († c. 759-767). His birthplace is not known. His family were Christian, and his father held an important position in Damascus under the Moslem rule. John received his higher education under the poet Cosmas, an Italian monk, to whom he owed his knowledge of philosophy and science, as well as of the higher theology. He became himself a monk (c. 730) at Mar Saba, near Jerusalem. Not long afterward, John, the patriarch of Jerusalem († 735), ordained him a presbyter. The general attitude of John of Damascus is that of the school of Constantinople ; and so he is the normal theologian of the Greek Church. Theophanes states that he was called *Chrysorrhoas, Stream of Gold*,¹ 'because of that grace of the spirit which shines like gold both in his doctrine and in his life.'²

He wrote a great work entitled the *Fountain of Knowledge*, comprising (1) *Philosophical Chapters*, (2) a compendium on *Heresies*, (3) *An Accurate Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*. The latter was divided into four books treating : (1) of God and the Trinity, (2) of creation and the nature of man, (3) of Christ and His incarnation, death, and descent into Hades, (4) of the resurrection and reign of Christ, including the rest of theology. John agrees essentially with Leontius, and uses the Aristotelian philosophy, logic and method. He is the great scholastic

¹ Literally, 'pouring forth gold.'

² *Vide* Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 583, citing Theophanes, *Chron. ad ann. 734.*

theologian of the East, and was also of wide and long influence in the West. He is for the East what Thomas Aquinas is for the West, and as a doctor of the universal Church holds an even higher position. His other works include three *Orations on Images*, homilies, dogmatic and controversial treatises, and hymns. He ranks as the greatest hymn writer of the Greek Church. He is said to have written 'a great part of the *Octoechus*, which contains the Sunday services of the Eastern Church';¹ also 'the golden canon,' which is sung at midnight on Easter Eve, and begins with a cry of joy: 'Christ is risen,' and an answering shout: 'Christ is risen indeed.'

The controversy over image-worship was fatal to the study of theology. The Emperor Leo, the Isaurian (716-741), in his ignorant zeal for reform, 'disendowed the imperial academy of Constantinople,' and 'ejected the Ecumenical Doctor at its head' together with his twelve assistants. He is said to have burnt the academy with its valuable library, but this is improbable. There is sufficient evidence that education in grammar, rhetoric and philosophy continued, but 'the schools of theology were suppressed.'²

¹ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, iv. p. 406.

² Sandys, i. p. 396; cf. Finlay, *History of Greece*, ii. 44; Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, ii. pp. 433 seq.

CHAPTER V

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE WEST IN
THE THIRD CENTURY

1. *The study of theology in the West until the middle of the third century was chiefly in the Greek language, not only in Rome, but also in distant Gaul, where were the principal centres of education at the beginning of the century.*

The literature of the early Church was in the Greek language. The Bible used by the early Christians, not only in Alexandria, but all over the Roman world, was the Greek version of the Old Testament.¹ The writings of the apostles were circulated in Greek. The works of the great Christian teachers of this early period were all in Greek, so far as preserved. It is therefore natural that Greek should have remained for a time the language of Christian scholarship even in the West. The greater Christian teachers, in the West as in the East, had for the most part studied and taught in the grammar and rhetorical schools of the Roman Empire, before their conversion ; and not a few had been trained in the universities. These brought over with them into Christianity the Greek methods of instruction, and, combining them with Hebrew methods, produced a mixed Christian system of grammar and rhetorical schools.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 190.

2. *Latin influence was exerted in the Church chiefly through Roman Law and methods of administration, which made Rome the centre of Church government and discipline.*

This very situation, however, was provocative of conflicts within the Church, especially in Rome; and the West during the third and fourth centuries was distracted by numerous schisms, due not so much to doctrinal differences, as to practical differences in church discipline, so that the ecclesiastical lawyer became more important than the doctrinal theologian.

In the first half of the century the popes were not men of ability, intellectually, morally, or as executives. From Zephyrinus to Fabian (199-250) all were lax in discipline as regards both faith and morals. In striving after peace and quiet they kept to a middle course, which could not satisfy any of the contending factions.

Victor, near the close of the previous century, had condemned the Adoptionist, Theodotus of Byzantium, and his school. But the Modalistic doctrine of the Trinity, coming from Asia in the person of Praxeas, was tolerated at Rome, though condemned at Carthage. So also, while Noetus was condemned at Smyrna, the Modalists established themselves at Rome under his pupil Epigonus, who was followed by Cleomenes, and finally by Sabellius. The strictly orthodox as to morals and faith, whose leader was Hippolytus, were outraged at the laxity of the popes. They finally separated, and made Hippolytus antipope. Thus at last they compelled Calixtus to action, and Sabellius and his party were condemned.

The earliest list of the minor orders is in a letter written by Cornelius of Rome to Fabius of Antioch in 251. It includes, with bishops, presbyters and deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers and door-keepers. Those who would become presbyters and bishops were obliged to ascend through these lower

grades, with practical training in each, before they could rise higher. In cases of necessity, or with candidates of unusual ability, there might be an ordination *per saltum*; but the custom was, that a considerable time should be spent in each of the lower orders. According to Drane, 'the author of the *Philosophumena* acquaints us with the fact that Pope Calixtus I. established a school of theology at Rome, which appears from his account to have been crowded with disciples.'¹

3. The Canon of the New Testament became fixed in Rome by the close of the second century, as the Muratorian fragment of that date attests.

The first layer of the New Testament Canon, consisting of the four Gospels, had won universal recognition in the Church prior to Justin, who cites them as authoritative,² and represents that they were read in the churches by the side of the Old Testament Prophets; and to Tatian, who compacted them together in his *Diatessaron*, which was used in the Syrian churches for generations.

The second layer of the Canon, containing the Pauline Epistles and the Acts, had gained general recognition by the close of the second century. The Epistle to the Hebrews was included in this layer in the East, but not in the West. These two layers are recognised in the *Doctrine of Addai*,³ which gives the primitive usage of the church of Edessa.

The third layer of the Canon, comprising the Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation, remained for some time open to discussion, and gained recognition very gradually. The first Epistles of Peter and John were received by common consent in the second century; the other books were disputed.⁴

¹ Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 11.

² Justin, *Apology*, i. 66, 67; *Dialogue with Trypho*, 49, 100.

³ *Doctrine of Addai*, p. 46.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 134.

4. *The chief Roman theologian at the opening of the third century was Hippolytus, who was, however, a pupil of Irenæus. He shows a comprehensive knowledge of the entire field of theology. His writings are in the Greek language, and are exegetical, historical, dogmatic, polemic, and practical. He is especially to be valued for his historic investigations and his codification of church law.*

The writings of *Hippolytus* († c. 236) may all be placed in the period from 200 to 235 ; and he may therefore be assigned to the third century, although he was born presumably in the third quarter of the second century. He was one of the Roman presbyters under Pope Zephyrinus (199-217), and was a pupil of Irenæus¹ in Lyons before settling in Rome. Jerome declares that Hippolytus, in one of his sermons, implies that he is 'speaking in the church in the presence of Origen.'² He came into conflict with Pope Calixtus, chiefly with reference to matters of discipline, and became an antipope at the head of a schismatic church. This position he seems to have retained until his exile to Sardinia with Pope Pontianus in 235, when a reconciliation took place. In this exile a year or two later he died. By the Church of Rome he is regarded as a saint. His statue was discovered at Rome in 1551, and has been assigned by experts to the third century. It contains a list of his numerous writings. Still others are mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome. He wrote : (1) from fifteen to twenty exegetical works, including commentaries, especially on Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, Daniel, Matthew, and the Apocalypse, and on various passages of Holy Scripture. (2) Several polemic works against pagans, Jews and heretics, the chief of which is the so-called *Philosophumena*, the Refutation of All Heresies. In these writings he carries on the work of Justin and Irenæus. (3) Several dogmatic monographs, especially

¹ Photius, cod. 121.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 61.

on Christ and Antichrist, and on the Resurrection. (4) A treatise concerning Easter, and a Chronicle down to the last year of Alexander Severus, giving also lists of bishops. (5) The most important contribution of Hippolytus was to Church Law. This was probably the result of his conflicts with the popes. These works are mentioned on the statue list, but they have not been preserved in their original form. The most important were, *On Charismatic Gifts*, and canons of Church government and discipline. These were worked over and incorporated in several different collections of Church Orders, including the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*, preserved in Arabic, the *Apostolic Constitutions*,¹ the *Testamentum Domini*, and the *Egyptian Church Order*. These canons give rules for ordination, the catechumenate, baptism, the Eucharist, fasts, oblations, the love feast, the healing of the sick, daily worship and the religious life.

5. *The chief Latin scholars of the third century were from North Africa, and the earliest of these was Tertullian. He was a Roman lawyer when converted to Christianity; and he introduced into the study of theology a legal terminology, and so gave Latin theology a legal type, which has continued until the present time. His writings cover many subjects, chiefly polemical, doctrinal or practical. He seems to have had neither the exegetical nor the historical spirit.*

Tertullian (c. 155-222) was born at Carthage, and was the son of a proconsular centurion. He was trained in Roman law schools, and subsequently practised law, both at Rome and at Carthage. Whether he is identical with the civil lawyer of that name and of the same period, who is of some repute in the history of Roman law, is doubtful. Soon after the conversion of Tertullian to

¹ *Apostolic Constitutions*, Bk. VIII.

Christianity (c. 195) he was made a presbyter at Carthage, but between the years 202 and 207, under impulses similar to those that moved Hippolytus, he became schismatic and a leader of the African Montanists. Jerome says that he was 'driven' out of the orthodox church 'by the envy and abuse' of the Roman clergy; and that he was 'said to have lived to a decrepit old age.'¹

Tertullian had extraordinary culture; but he was, like Hippolytus, a rigid disciplinarian, and as such too thoroughly Roman to be thoroughly Christian. Doubtless his training by a military father tended to give him this stiffness and sternness of character, which shows in all his writings. 'Miserrimus ego!' he cries, 'always burning with the fever of impatience.'² Jerome calls him 'a man of keen and vigorous character.'³ He was a polemic divine, an intellectual fighter of great ability and power. His *Apologeticus* is distinguished for its exposure of the illegality of the proceedings against Christianity, and the reproach cast by such proceedings upon all the principles of law. His address *Ad nationes* is a passionate and bitter attack on heathenism. His work *Adversus Judæos* shows that the Jews have forfeited the divine grace by their own fault, and that the Christians have taken their place in the covenant of God. *De præscriptione hæreticorum* brings the heretics to the court of catholic authority, and shows that they have no case. *Adversus Marcionem* is a thoroughly scorching attack and refutation. The work *Adversus Hermogenem* was written against the philosophical opinion of the eternity of matter; *Adversus Valentinianos* and *Scorpiae* against Gnosticism in various forms; *Adversus Praxeam* against a Monarchian in his doctrine of the Trinity. Tertullian also wrote dogmatic monographs: *De carne Christi*, *De anima*, and *De resurrectione carnis*. A very

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53.

³ Tertullian, *De patientia*, 1.

important section of his writings relates to Christian morals and discipline. The earliest of these works were addressed to catechumens : *De baptismo*, *De pœnitentia*, *De oratione*. He then wrote, for more mature Christians, a treatise, *De patientia*. Later came his attacks on vices : *De spectaculis*, *De idololatria*, *De cultu feminarum* ; then an exhortation *Ad martyres* ; and those *Ad uxorem*, *De exhortatione castitatis*, *De monogamia*, all expressing strict views as to marriage and the profession of virginity. Other works, *De corona militis*, *De fuga in persecutione*, *De virginibus velandis*, *De jejunio adversus psychicos*, *De pudicitia*, were directed against lax discipline in the Roman Church. Tertullian, as the earliest prominent Christian who wrote in Latin, laid the foundation of Latin Christian literature, and gave to Latin theology much of its terminology for all time. Jerome says that Tertullian was regarded as 'chief of the Latin writers after Victor and Apollonius,' that his works were 'well known to most,'¹ and that, while they are 'packed with meaning, his style is rugged and uncouth.'²

6. *The next great Latin scholar, Cyprian, was a teacher of rhetoric at Carthage before he was converted ; and he shows his rhetorical experience in his style of writing. He was a bishop, and as such an ecclesiastic ; and his writings are chiefly practical and ecclesiastical in character.*

Cyprian (c. 210-258) was born at Carthage of a family of wealth and influence, and was won to Christianity by a presbyter, Cæcilius. He was baptized in 246, was soon ordained a presbyter, and then a bishop (c. 248). His episcopate was in troubled times of persecution. He escaped the Decian persecution by flight, but suffered martyrdom under Valerian.

Cyprian had a short episcopate of scarcely ten years, and a Christian life of only twelve ; yet he accomplished

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 53.

² Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

much, both as a bishop and as a writer. Like Hippolytus, his greatest service was in the department of Church government and discipline. He also was involved in questions of discipline and ecclesiastical law in controversy with the Roman pope, especially as to the limitation of the papal prerogative and as to the question of heretical baptism. His most important works are : (1) *De lapsis*, written after the Decian persecution, in which he makes the restoration of the lapsed to Christian fellowship dependent on confession and the practice of severe penance ; (2) *De catholicæ ecclesiæ unitate*, occasioned by schisms at Carthage and Rome, a fundamental work as to Church unity ; (3) *De opere et elemosynis*, *De bono patientiæ*, *De zelo et livore*, all urging to forbearance and brotherly love ; and (4) *Ad Quirinum testimoniorum libri III*, a dogmatic treatise, showing first the displacement of Jews by Christians, second the Messiahship of Jesus, and third the principles of Christian morals. The letters of Cyprian are a thesaurus for Church government and discipline, and for the Christian life. Sixty-six of the letters written by him have been preserved, also fifteen of those written to him. The questions discussed are such as these : How is a bishop to deal with a refractory deacon ; the treatment of the lapsed ; the ordination of a presbyter, a reader, a sub-deacon ; the expulsion of schismatics from church communion ; the use of water for wine at the Eucharist ; the baptism of children ; whether a lapsed bishop should retain his office ; the restoration of deposed bishops by Stephen of Rome ; the validity of heretical baptism and of clinical baptism. Jerome remarks :

‘The blessed Cyprian, like a fountain of pure water, flows softly and sweetly ; but, as he is taken up with exhortations to virtue, and with the troubles consequent on persecution, he has nowhere discussed the Divine Scriptures.’¹

¹ Jerome, *Ep. lviii. 10.*

About the name of Cyprian have gathered many writings to which he had no claim. As to those which are undoubtedly his, Krüger remarks :

‘All of Cyprian’s literary works were written in connection with his episcopal office ; almost all of his treatises and many of his letters have the character of pastoral epistles, and their form occasionally betrays the fact that they were intended as addresses. These writings are pervaded by a moderate, clear-sighted, and gentle spirit. Cyprian possessed none of that character which makes the reading of Tertullian so interesting and piquant, but he had other qualities instead, which the latter had not, more especially the art of presenting his thoughts in simple, smooth and clear language, with a certain completeness of form, a style which was not wanting, on this account, in warmth and persuasive power.’¹

Jerome says that he was famous first as a teacher of rhetoric, and that it was unnecessary to ‘catalogue the works of his genius, since they are more conspicuous than the sun.’²

7. The chief Roman scholar of the second half of the third century was Novatian, a man of the same type as Hippolytus, who, in his zeal for orthodoxy and strict discipline, also organised a schism and became an antipope. He had a rhetorical and philosophical training, a fine literary style, and great ability as a dogmatic writer and a practical theologian.

The Roman bishops of the third quarter of the third century were men of some ability as executives. They were lax in discipline so far as doctrine and morals were concerned, but all the more stern and autocratic in the maintenance of their own authority. Hence arose conflicts, not only at Rome, but also with churches in other parts of the world. Stephen (254-257) came into conflict with African and Eastern bishops as regards heretical baptism. His predecessor Cornelius (251-253),

¹ Krüger, *Hist. Christ. Lit.*, p. 282.

² Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 67.

and his successors, Sixtus II. (257-258), Dionysius (259-268), and Felix (269-274), were all men of the same type.

Novatian was a philosopher before his conversion, and had doubtless been trained in rhetorical and philosophical schools, and probably had also studied law. He was the theological successor of Hippolytus, and may have been influenced by him personally. He was ordained a presbyter of the Roman Church, probably by Fabian ; but not without opposition from the laxer party. Duchesne¹ suggests that he may have been at the head of a school of lectors in Rome, similar to the catechetical school at Alexandria, and so with functions like those of the 'teacher-presbyters' to which Cyprian refers.² The followers of Hippolytus had united with the Roman Church after his death and that of the bishop Pontianus ; but the strife still continued, and Novatian became the recognised leader of the stricter set. After the death of Fabian, when Cornelius was chosen pope, Novatian was made antipope (251), and the schism of Hippolytus was revived on a larger scale, extending, with the help of the Donatist schism in Africa, all over the West. The writings of Novatian have been current until recent times under other names ; because, as a schismatic, he became discredited in the Church. His chief work is *De trinitate*, the only³ presentation of the doctrine of the Trinity in the West before Augustine, the most important and complete dogmatic monograph, and the nearest approach to a system of doctrine, in that it was based on the Roman creed. Jerome calls it 'a great volume... a sort of epitome of the work of Tertullian, which many mistakenly ascribe to Cyprian.'⁴ He mentions a number of other genuine works on moral and ecclesiastical subjects, which are lost. He ascribes to Novatian an original

¹ Duchesne, i. p. 325.

³ Except that of Hilary, see p. 168.

² Cyprian, *Ep. xxix. (xxiii.).*

⁴ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 70.

literary style,¹ and Cyprian, his opponent, implies that he was a man of philosophical training and rhetorical ability.² Recent critics assign to Novatian a large number of writings on practical subjects. Harnack finds six among those wrongly ascribed to Cyprian, including, with the above-mentioned work on the Trinity, *De spectaculis*, *De bono pudicitiae*, *Adversus Judæos*, *De laude martyrii*, *Quod idola dii non sint*.

8. *The next African writer was Arnobius, a teacher of rhetoric at Sicca, in Africa, before he became a Christian.*

The dates of *Arnobius* are uncertain. Jerome mentions him in his Chronicle for the year 326-7, and states elsewhere that he was 'a most successful teacher of rhetoric at Sicca, in Africa, during the reign of Diocletian.'³ It is probable that he was born before the middle of the third century. His writings are few. The principal one was *Adversus nationes*, written at the close of the third century, or early in the fourth. It is the work of a rhetorician who had a smattering of philosophy, and is of no great value. Jerome says that it was to be 'found everywhere'; but condemns the author as 'lengthy and unequal, and often confused from not making a proper division of his subject.'⁴ The chief significance of *Arnobius* is, that he was the teacher of *Lactantius*.

9. *Lactantius was a pupil of Arnobius, and taught himself as professor of rhetoric in Nicomedia, where he seems to have become a Christian. His writings are distinguished for their elegance of style, so that he has been called the Christian Cicero. They are chiefly dogmatic and polemic in character.*

Lactantius (c. 260-340) was probably born in Africa. He was 'a disciple of *Arnobius*', and acquired such fame

¹ Jerome, *Contra Rufinum*, ii. 19.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 79.

² Cyprian, *Ep.* lv. (li.) 24.

⁴ Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

as a teacher of rhetoric, that Diocletian 'summoned (him) to Nicomedia with Flavius the grammarian'¹ to give instruction there (c. 285). At the beginning of the Diocletian persecution (303) he was still a professor in Nicomedia,² and remained there at least two years longer. He was a Christian at that time, and suffered for his faith in the loss of his position and his popularity as a teacher.³ At a later time he went to Trèves (Gaul); and 'in his extreme old age, he was,' according to Jerome, 'tutor to Crispus Cæsar, a son of Constantine.' His principal writings are: *De opificio Dei* (c. 304), a treatise on divine Providence, based on the beauty and adaptability of the human body; and *Divinæ institutiones* (305-311), an apology for the Christian religion, 'the most complete of all Christian Apologies,'⁴ but by no means the best. Jerome says:

'Lactantius has a flow of eloquence worthy of Tully: would that he had been as ready to teach our doctrines as he was to pull down those of others!'⁵

10. *Styria, at the close of the century, presents to us Victorinus, the bishop of Pettau, who fell a martyr in the Diocletian persecution. He is the first exegete of the Latin Church. He composed commentaries on at least ten books of the Bible.*

Little is known of *Victorinus*; and, so far as any evidence goes, his life cannot be comprehended in any exact historical framework. His commentaries have all been lost, except so far as they appear in the works of his successors. Jerome says that *Victorinus* was 'not equally familiar with Latin and Greek. On this account his works, though noble in thought, are inferior in style.' 'Although he has the glory of a martyr's crown, yet (he)

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 80.

² Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, v. 2, 11.

³ Vide Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 415 seq.

⁴ Krüger, *History of Early Christian Literature*, p. 312.

⁵ Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 10.

cannot express what he knows.¹ However, the influence of his Biblical work must have been very great upon his successors in the Latin Church, whose commentaries have superseded his.

11. *The historical work of the third century consisted chiefly of the Acts of martyrs, of which a considerable number was published; and in historical romances relating to the apostles and their associates.*

The genuine *Acta martyrum* of the early Church are based upon the *Acta proconsularia*, the court records of the Roman empire. The most ancient Acts are in the form of letters. Among those mentioned by Eusebius are: the letter of the Smyrnæans already cited, telling of the death of Polycarp; one from the churches of Lyons and Vienne, relating their sufferings in the persecution of 177; and the report of Dionysius of Alexandria to Fabian of Antioch concerning the Decian persecution.² There are accounts of the sufferings of North African martyrs among Cyprian's letters.³ Other Acts are in the narrative form. The most important of those from the second century are the *Acta Justini*, the *Acta Carpi*, *Papyli*, *et Agathonicæ*, the *Passio sanctorum Scillitanorum* and the *Acta Apollonii*; from the third century, the *Passio Perpetuæ et Felicitatis*, those of Pionius, Cyprian and others. Eusebius gives an account of the sufferings of the Christians of Palestine in the Diocletian persecution, early in the fourth century, in what is now an appendix to the eighth book of his Church History.⁴

Of the historical romances produced at this time the most important were the so-called *Clementina*, a group of writings comprising the *Clementine Homilies*, *Recognitions* and *Epitome*, supposed to have been written by

¹ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 74; *Ep.* lviii. 10.

² *Vide* Eusebius, iv. 15; v. 1-3; vi. 41-42.

³ Cyprian, *Epp.* 20, 21, 22, 27, 39, 40, etc.

⁴ *Vide* 'Acta Martyrum,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Clement of Rome, and picturing him as a disciple of the apostle Peter and the companion of his travels.

12. *The Western Church, by the close of the third century, had a canon of Holy Scripture and a considerable number of commentaries upon it ; a rule of faith, in the Apostles' Creed ; numerous apologetic, dogmatic and ethical treatises ; and canons of government and discipline.*

A large number of discussions upon special topics had been written by this time in the Western Church ; and a considerable amount of historical material had been collected, which required to be sifted, in order that fact might be discriminated from fiction, and real history from its traditional embellishment.

CHAPTER VI

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE WEST IN
THE FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES

THE West, in all parts where the Roman authority prevailed, had grammar and rhetorical schools ; but only one university, and that in Rome, for the study of law and philosophy. Public teachers were appointed by the State, and their office was one of privilege and honour. Private teaching also was encouraged. In Gaul every important city was obliged to provide public instruction, and the salaries to be given were fixed by law. The chief Christian teachers in the West were trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools ; and some of them also in philosophy and law.

1. *Hosius of Cordova is the first great theologian of this period. He was the chief adviser of Constantine for many years, and was largely responsible for the terminology of the Nicene Faith.*

Hosius (c. 257-357) was a highly educated man, but when and how educated is not known. He became bishop of Cordova, Spain, in 295. He is said to have been 'the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the Council of Nice,' where he appeared as 'the venerable Hosius, one worthy of all honour and respect, on account of his advanced age, his adherence to the faith, and his labours for the Church.'¹ Constantine 'greatly loved this man, and held him in the

¹ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 6.

highest estimation.'¹ But under Constantius, Hosius suffered at the hands of the Arians. Athanasius writes in his *Apology*:²

'It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for every one knows that he also was sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What church does not still retain the glorious memorials of his protection? Did any one ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Who ever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of their calumnies, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us.'

The only writings of Hosius now extant are letters to Pope Julius explaining the Nicene Creed, and to the Emperor Constantius, declining to abandon it.

2. Hilary of Poitiers, the Athanasius of the West, was the chief theologian of the first half of the fourth century.

Hilary (†367) was born at Poitiers in Gaul at an unknown date, and became bishop of Poitiers before 355. He was led to the Christian faith by the study of philosophy. His early training was Latin, and included an acquaintance with the works of Tertullian, Cyprian and Novatian; but during his exile in Asia Minor (356-360) he studied Greek and came under the influence of the writings of Origen, especially in exegesis. He was one of the earliest Biblical exegetes of the Western Church. His commentary on Matthew was written before his exile, his work on the Psalms towards the close of his life. During his exile he wrote his two principal works, *De trinitate* (in twelve books) and *De synodis*. He was chiefly interested in doctrine even in his commentaries, and used the methods of the Alexandrian school. To

¹ Socrates, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 6, 7.

² § 4, 5; *vide Theodoret*, ii. 12.

him, faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ was 'the foundation of the Church.' 'This faith holdeth the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' In defence of the apostolic truth, and the rights of the Church and the conscience, Hilary bore a sharp sword.¹ Jerome calls him 'that master of eloquence,' and says that his commentaries give 'some idea of the study which our Latins also, in former days, have bestowed upon the Holy Scriptures.'²

Jerome³ ascribes to him a book of hymns, and, according to Isidore of Seville: *hymnorum carmine floruit primus.*⁴ The morning hymn, *Lucis largitor splendide*, is the best known of those current under his name.

3. Tychonius, a Donatist of Africa, was an excellent scholar, chiefly important for his seven rules of interpretation, which influenced subsequent Biblical scholarship.

Tychonius is said to have been 'sufficiently learned in sacred literature, not wholly unacquainted with secular literature, and zealous in ecclesiastical affairs.' His birth, life and death are all uncertain; but he is supposed to have 'flourished during the reign of Theodosius and his sons.'⁵

Tychonius influenced both Jerome and Augustine, who used his '*Rules for investigating and ascertaining the meaning of the Scriptures.*' These rules have to do chiefly with the substance of Scripture. They are:

(1) Of the Lord and His body; (2) Of the twofold division of the Lord's body; (3) Of the promises and the law; (4) Of species and genus; (5) Of the times; (6) Of recapitulation; (7) Of the devil and his body.⁶

Tychonius himself made use of these rules in a commentary on the Book of Revelation, in which he regarded

¹ *Vide* Semisch, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, 1880, Bd. vi. pp. 418 *seq.*

² Jerome, Preface to his Translation of Origen on St. Luke.

³ Jerome, *De vir. ill.*, 100.

⁴ Isidore, *De eccl. offic.*, i. 6.

⁵ Gennadius, *De illustribus ecclesiae scriptoribus*, 18.

⁶ Briggs, *General Introduction to the Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 449.

‘nothing in a carnal sense, but all in a spiritual sense.’¹ This work is no longer extant, except so far as it has been incorporated in the writings of other commentators.

Burkitt says of Tychonius :

‘His aim was to find general rules of interpretation, which would cover every case, and which therefore might be applied to the most unpromising subjects and images. Whatever we may think of his results, they certainly seemed to meet the wants of the men of his own time. It is a most extraordinary fact that the Catholic world should have accepted the work of a schismatic as a text-book of exegesis; that it was so accepted is the best testimony to the success of the Book of Rules.’²

4. Ambrose, the great bishop of Milan, was the most eminent ecclesiastic of the fourth century. He is especially important for his liturgical, ecclesiastical, and moral reforms.

Ambrose (340-397) was born at Trèves, and died at Milan. A Roman by race and education, he was trained for civil affairs as a lawyer and became a ‘consular magistrate.’ In 374, when only a layman, he was made bishop of Milan by acclamation of the people. The emperor is said to have approved of the election, ‘for he knew that the judgment (of Ambrose) was straight and true as the carpenter’s rule and his sentence more exact than the beam of the balance.’³ Ambrose became indeed ‘a sort of oracle for the entire West.’⁴ He was a student of Greek, and was influenced by Origen and Basil, and yet he was more a man of affairs than a theologian. He says of himself :

‘From the judgment-seat and the garb of office was I carried off to enter on the priesthood, and I began to teach you what I myself had not yet learned. So it happened that I began to

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 18.

² Burkitt, ‘The Rules of Tyconius,’ in *Texts and Studies*, III. i. p. xiii.

³ Theodoret, *Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 6.

⁴ Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l’Église*, ii. pp. 549 seq.

teach before I began to learn. Therefore I must learn and teach at the same time.' ¹

However, he became noted as a preacher, and he wrote much :

‘ Sermons on the Bible, . . . funeral orations, hymns and liturgical commentaries, theological dissertations against Arianism, upon the divinity of the Holy Spirit, upon the Incarnation, moral exhortations upon the duty of clerics, upon the profession of virginity, letters upon the questions which were submitted each day to his experience.’ ²

His work *De officiis ministrorum* is of special importance for the history of theological scholarship.

Augustine bears witness to the eloquence of Ambrose as a preacher, and ascribes to him his own conversion, saying :

‘ To him was I unknowing led by Thee, that by him I might knowingly be led to Thee. That man of God received me as a father. . . . From that time I began to love him, at first indeed not as a teacher of the truth . . . but as a person kind towards myself. And diligently did I listen to him preaching to the people, not with that intent I ought, but, as it were, testing his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof ; . . . and I was delighted with the sweetness of his discourse.’ ³

Again Augustine praises that

‘ excellent steward of God, whom I venerate as a father ; for “ in Christ Jesus he begat me through the Gospel,” and through him, as the minister of Christ, I received “ the washing of regeneration ” ;—I mean the blessed Ambrose, whose graces, constancy, labours, perils for the Catholic faith, whether in words or works, I have both myself experienced, and the whole Roman world hesitates not to proclaim with me.’ ⁴

Ambrose made a great reform in public worship, especially in the music, and gave to the church of Milan a revised liturgy. He followed the Syrian Church in the

¹ Ambrose, *On the Duties of the Clergy*, i. i. 4.

² Duchesne, *Hist. de l’Egl.*, ii. p. 557.

³ Augustine, *Confessions*, v. 13, 14.

⁴ Augustine, *Contra Julianum*, i. 10.

use of melody in singing, and adopted the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixo-Lydian keys of the musical system of Greece, and also responsive choirs. Paulinus testifies that at this time 'antiphons, hymns, and vigils began to be performed in the church of Milan, and had spread thence amongst all the churches of the West.'¹ Ambrose followed the great Syrian teachers in composing hymns as well as music for the use of his people in public worship. Among the few hymns which were undoubtedly written by him are the morning hymn, *Æterne rerum conditor*, and its companion the evening song, *Deus creator omnium*.

5. *The most eminent Biblical scholar of the fourth century was Jerome, who gave to the Western Church its Latin Bible, and by his commentaries and method influenced the West for centuries.*

Jerome (c. 330-420) was born at Stridon, Dalmatia, and studied at Rome, 'in the schools of heathen philosophy,' with the grammarian Donatus and the rhetorician Victorinus. He writes: 'In my younger days I was carried away by a great passion for learning.'² Rufinus charges him with boasting that he had been 'versed and trained from infancy to old age in the schools of rhetoric and philosophy.'³ But he also felt the influence of Christian Rome, and in 360 was baptized by Liberius. He then went to Gaul, and spent some time at Trèves, an important centre of learning for the West. Here he was called to the ascetic life; and when, some years later, at Aquileia he met with Rufinus, he became the leader of a group of young ascetics. The following year (c. 373) he set out for the Holy Land by way of Thrace and Asia Minor. Reaching Antioch, he was detained there for some months by serious illness. In the course

¹ Paulinus, *Vita S. Ambros.*, 18.

² Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 29.

² Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

of his fever he had a dream which led him to give up for a time the use of all 'heathen books,' and to devote himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures. Upon his recovery he retired for five years to the Syrian desert. At this time he began the study of Hebrew; and when his weakened frame proved unequal to the hardships of a hermit's life, he entered upon a course of study with some of the greatest Christian teachers of his day. 'At Antioch (he) frequently listened to Apollinaris of Laodicea, and attended his lectures,' receiving of him instruction in the Holy Scriptures.¹ About the year 379 he was ordained a presbyter by Paulinus; yet, on leaving Antioch for Constantinople, he sought a second teacher of exegesis in Gregory Nazianzen, who made him an admirer of Origen. At a later time he was accused of having 'done more than any one else to form a collection of Origen's books'; and admitted the charge, saying: 'Indeed, these Alexandrian writings have emptied my purse,' and 'I only wish I could have the works of all theological writers, that by diligent study of them I might make up for the slowness of my own wits.'²

From Constantinople Jerome went to Rome, where his ability was recognised by Pope Damasus, and he became an authority upon the Bible. The pope encouraged him to make a new Latin version of the Scriptures on the basis of the Hebrew and Greek texts; and for three years he was chiefly engaged in this work, remaining in Rome until after the death of his patron. He became the centre of a group of Roman women of noble birth, whom he inspired with his ideals of holy living and of the supreme importance of the study of the Scriptures. Under his guidance they formed communities, which were widely influential in promoting the spread of monastic ideals among women. In the year 385 Jerome

¹ Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

² *Ibid.*

left Rome for the East. Visiting Alexandria, he spent a month with the venerable Didymus, who may be regarded as his third Greek teacher.¹ Didymus was in some respects the opposite of Apollinaris. ‘The squadrons of the two leaders dragged (Jerome) in different directions’; yet he ‘acknowledged both as (his) masters.’² He finally settled at Bethlehem, in a monastic establishment, and devoted himself to the translation and interpretation of the Bible, extending his studies in Hebrew with the help of a learned Jew. But ‘Oh what trouble and expense it cost to get Bar Anina to teach’ him, for this master proved ‘a second edition of Nicodemus.’ ‘Through fear of the Jews’ he would only teach ‘under cover of night.’³ Jerome is described as at this time ‘forever immersed in his studies and his books; neither day nor night does he take any rest; he is forever occupied with reading or writing.’⁴ He had returned to his studies in ‘heathen books.’ Rufinus reproaches him for calling himself a Ciceronian, and speaking of ‘our Tully,’ ‘our Flaccus,’ ‘our Maro,’ and declares that he ‘not only reads (such works) and owns them, not only copies them and collates them, but inserts them among the words of Scripture itself, and in discourses intended for the edification of the Church.’ As for the Greek writers, ‘he scatters their names around him like a vapour or halo.’⁵ Jerome was, indeed, as he himself claimed, ‘*philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, hebræus, græcus, latinus, trilinguis*’;⁶ and he made use of all his attainments in the study of the Sacred Writings. He must be regarded as the greatest Biblical scholar of his age, and as second only to Origen in this department of theology. He wrote many commentaries, in which he held to the allegorical method of

¹ *Vide Duchesne, Histoire Ancienne de l’Église*, ii. p. 620.

² Jerome, *Ep.* 84.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.*, i. ix. 5.

⁵ Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 7, 8.

⁶ Jerome, *Apol. adv. Rufin.*, ii.

the Alexandrians. And yet he had learned something from the Antiochans, for he endeavours to ascertain first of all the sense of the Hebrew original, and studies the context and parallel passages, and also the historical circumstances ; but while he lays stress upon the literal meaning, yet in the end what he seeks is the allegorical sense.¹ His chief service, however, consists in his Latin versions of the Bible. He first revised the Italic version of the New Testament, and his revision was 'willingly received, not only at Rome and in Italy, but gradually throughout the whole West, and has, since that time, always remained in general use in the Latin Church.'² Jerome then undertook the revision of the Psalter, and this work became known as the *Psalterium Romanum*. It was adopted in Rome by order of Pope Damasus, was used in all the Roman churches until the sixteenth century, and is still used at Milan, and in Rome at St. Peter's, 'in the recitation of the canonical hours.'³ His discovery of Origen's *Hexapla* at Cæsarea tempted Jerome to undertake a fresh revision of the Psalter on the basis of that work. The result was the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, so called as having come into general use first in Gaul. It became the common version throughout the West with the exceptions just stated, and is still used in part in Vulgate and Breviary. Finally Jerome undertook a new translation from the Hebrew text of the whole Old Testament, with the help of his teacher, Bar Anina. This work, completed in 405, became the Latin *Vulgate*.⁴ 'The text of the *Psalterium Gallicanum* was, however, so deeply rooted in popular use and affection, that the new version was powerless to supersede it.'⁵ As for the Apocrypha, the greater part was

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 453.

² Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, pp. 459 seq.

³ Bardenhewer, *ibid.*

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 213.

⁵ Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 461.

not translated by Jerome, and continued to be read in the old Italic version. The Vulgate is of great value as a version of the early Church, made by one of its chief Biblical scholars, and based upon all the ancient versions gathered in the Hexapla, and upon an unpointed, uninterpreted Hebrew text, in a time when the languages of all these versions were still living tongues. Jerome's work on the Scriptures covered Biblical geography and archæology. His letters are indispensable for the study of Church history ; and in *De viris illustribus* he laid the foundation for the study of Patristic. Erasmus exclaims :

' I am moved by the piety of that holy man, of all Christians beyond controversy the most learned and most eloquent.' ' What a fund in him of Roman eloquence, what skill in languages, what a knowledge of antiquity, and of all history, what a retentive memory, what a perfect familiarity with mystic literature, above all, what zeal, what a wonderful inspiration of the divine breath ! He is the one person who, at the same time, delights by his eloquence, teaches by his erudition, and ravishes by his holiness.'¹

Columbanus writes to Gregory the Great :

' I frankly acknowledge to thee, that any one who goes against the authority of St. Hieronymus will be one to be repudiated as a heretic among the churches of the West ; for, with regard to the Divine Scriptures, they accommodate their faith in all respects unhesitatingly to him.'²

6. *Rufinus is chiefly important for his translation of Origen and Eusebius, and his exposition of the Creed.*

Rufinus (c. 345-410) was born at Aquileia, trained in Latin and Greek literature, and baptized at the age of twenty-five or six. He and Jerome were for a time fellow-students, fellow-travellers, and companions in the ascetic life. But Rufinus prolonged his stay in Egypt for six years, ' and again after an interval for two more.' The most of this time was spent, ' where Didymus

¹ Erasmus, *Epp.* 134, 328.

² *Vide* Gregory the Great, *Ep.* cxxvii.

lived,' in study under him. Alexandrian influence made of Rufinus an enthusiastic Origenist, whereas Jerome's admiration for Origen and his method was tempered by influences from the Antiochan school. But Rufinus did not confine himself to one teacher. He speaks of others in Alexandria noted for learning and 'in no way inferior' to Didymus, and of 'teachers of the desert, on whom (he) attended frequently and earnestly,' among them Macarius, a disciple of Antony, 'all of them friends of God, who taught (him) those things which they themselves were learning from God.'¹ He grieves that his talents have not done justice to such masters.

Rufinus finally established near Jerusalem a monastic community on the Mount of Olives; and here for a time he renewed his fellowship with Jerome, until the Origenistic controversy brought all friendly intercourse to an end. John of Jerusalem ordained Rufinus a presbyter about the year 390. Seven years later he returned to Rome, where he translated many of the works of Origen into Latin. Finally he retired to his native city, and lived there until shortly before his death. One of his most important works is a translation of Eusebius' *Church History*, in which he compressed the ten books into nine and added two more, continuing the narrative down to the death of Theodosius the Great. He also composed an *Expositio Symboli Apostolici*, which is the chief authority on the Apostles' Creed for the ancient Church. Gennadius declares this work to be 'so excellent that other expositions are regarded as of no account in comparison.' He describes Rufinus as 'not the least among the doctors of the Church,' having 'a fine talent for elegant translation from Greek into Latin. In this way he opened to the Latin-speaking Church the greater part of the Greek literature.'²

¹ Rufinus, *Apology*, ii. 12.

² Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 17.

7. *The chief theologian of the early fifth century was Augustine, at first a teacher of rhetoric, then, after his conversion, a great dogmatic and polemic writer, whose influence in the West has been dominant until the present day.*

Augustine (353-430) was born in Numidia, and studied at Tagaste and Madaura in the schools of grammar and rhetoric. At the age of seventeen he went to Carthage for further training in rhetoric, and remained there for three years, becoming 'chief of the rhetorical school.' A youth of strong affections and passions, he was led astray by his fellow-students; but 'the faithful mercy' of God 'hovered over (him) afar.'¹ 'In the ordinary course of study (he) fell upon a certain book of Cicero,' containing 'an exhortation to philosophy,' and called *Hortensius*.

'This book' (he says) 'altered my affections, and turned my prayers to Thyself, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. . . . I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began now to arise, that I might return to Thee. . . . I resolved then to bend my mind to the Holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. . . . But they seemed to me unworthy to be compared to the stateliness of Tully.'²

At this time Augustine came under the influence of Manichæans, and so remained for nine years. He spent his time in teaching rhetoric, at first in Tagaste, then in Carthage, and finally in Rome and Milan. He read 'all the books (he) could procure on the so-called liberal arts,' delighting in them all; and having 'both quickness of understanding and acuteness in discerning,' he understood, 'without much difficulty or any instructor, whatever was written, either on rhetoric, or logic, geometry, music or arithmetic.'³ At Milan he came under the influence of Ambrose, and was finally converted to Christianity at the age of thirty-three. Returning to

¹ Augustine, *Confessions*, iii. 3.

² Augustine, *ibid.*, iii. 4, 5.

³ *Ibid.*, iv. 16.

Africa, he formed a kind of religious community at Tagaste, in which he spent several years. In 391 he was made a presbyter at Hippo, and four years later became the bishop of that church. At Hippo also he led an ascetic life, in close fellowship with his clergy, whom he trained both by precept and by example. His community at Hippo has been described as virtually a theological seminary, 'a training school for the clergy.' 'The excellence and timeliness of this ecclesiastical institution, one of the noblest and most enduring of Augustine's creations, was universally recognised, and its need felt on all sides. The most pious bishops of the African Church openly vied with each other in imitation of Augustine. From all sides came demands for priests out of his seminary.'¹ Augustine, indeed, was not the first to unite his clergy in a religious community. Eusebius had tried the experiment before him at Vercelli, and Ambrose at Milan. But the Vandal invasion, in forcing the African bishops to take refuge in Italy or Gaul, extended the influence of Augustine and the knowledge of his methods; so that, as time went on, his manner of life with his clergy began to be imitated in all parts of the Western Church. Augustine's services to theological scholarship are of inestimable value. He was the greatest scholar of the West after Jerome, and a writer of immense range. Gennadius describes him as 'renowned throughout the world for learning both sacred and secular, unblemished in the faith, pure in life'; the author of 'works so many that they cannot all be gathered. For who is there that can boast himself of having all his works, or who reads with such diligence as to read all that he has written? '² In his numerous exegetical works Augustine made special use of the allegorical method, giving to it a more definite form,

¹ Theiner, *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, pp. 11 seq.

² Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 39.

which prevailed in the West till the Reformation. He distinguished four kinds of exegesis : (1) the historical, (2) the ætiological, (3) the analogical, and (4) the allegorical ; and he laid down the principle that whatever cannot be referred to good conduct or truth of faith must be regarded as figurative. The ideal which he held before the student is as follows :

‘ The man who fears God, seeks diligently in Holy Scripture for a knowledge of His will. And when he has become meek through piety, so as to have no love of strife, when furnished also with a knowledge of language so as not to be stopped by unknown words and forms of speech, and with the knowledge of certain necessary objects, so as not to be ignorant of the force and nature of those which are used figuratively ; and assisted, besides, by accuracy in the texts, which has been secured by skill and care in the matter of correction ;—when thus prepared, let him proceed to the examination and solution of the ambiguities of Scripture.’¹

Yet Augustine’s practice did not accord altogether with his precepts. Like Irenæus and Tertullian, he was dominated by the rule of faith and the authority of the Church, and like the Alexandrians, he made too great a use of the allegorical method. The later Fathers in the Western Church followed his example rather than his precepts.

Augustine was distinguished especially as a dogmatic and polemic divine, writing against Manichæans, Donatists, Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians. Of great importance are his works *De doctrina christiana* and *De trinitate*, and his *Enchiridion*, an exposition of the Creed. To Practical Theology also he contributed works of great value, and his writings include many sermons and ethical treatises, as well as letters and other minor works. His *Retractationes*, written towards the close of his life, review two hundred and thirty-two treatises.

¹ Augustine, *De doctrina*, iii. 15 ; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 449 seq.

Augustine became the greatest authority for the West, and has so remained until the present day. His *Enchiridion* became practically as authoritative as the ancient creeds ; and it went beyond them in the doctrines of sin and salvation, and of faith and love. It exalts the sovereign grace of God, and the lordship of Christ goes into the background. It exalts the saving work of Christ as connected with His death on the cross, and the incarnation goes into the background.

His *City of God* also is epoch-making. It represents the Church as the city of God, the kingdom of God on earth, and the government and worship of the Church as royal institutions. In this work the influence of Roman laws, institutions, and ideals is very apparent.

Augustine's *Confessions* has given shape to the piety of the West until the present time, more especially in the experience of sin and salvation.

8. The chief opponents of Augustine were the Pelagians : Pelagius himself, Celestius, and Julian, all able and influential theologians.

Pelagius was born in Britain in the fourth century, but his principal work was in the fifth. It is not known whether he became a monk in his native land, or after his journey to the East. He was an educated man and an ascetic. His *Commentary on the Romans* manifests his characteristic doctrines. He was especially opposed to Manichæism, which was strong at the time, and in which Augustine had been trained. Original sin and absolute predestination Pelagius denied, asserting the freedom of the human will. As Loofs says :¹

'He lived, despite his thorough acquaintance with the writing of Paul, in an atmosphere of ascetic morality more akin to the views of Seneca than to those of the great Apostle.'

¹ Loofs, in the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, viii. p. 440.

Pelagius spent a considerable time in Rome, and his orthodoxy remained unchallenged until he went to Africa in 411. After seven years of conflict he was banished from Rome by the Emperor Honorius (418), and is last heard of in Palestine that same year.

Celestius, a lawyer of noble birth, was the chief friend and supporter of Pelagius. But *Julian*, bishop of Eclanum, was the principal exponent of Pelagianism in its second stage, after the death of Pelagius. He was born about the year 385, and was thoroughly trained in classical learning and philosophy. He was partly a Stoic, like Pelagius, but chiefly an Aristotelian. His principal works, *Ad Turbantium* and *Ad Florum*, were written in controversy with Augustine. Gennadius describes him as 'a man of vigorous character, learned in the divine Scriptures, and proficient both in Greek and Latin.'¹

9. Cassian, the founder of the school of piety at Marseilles in the first quarter of the fifth century, took an intermediate position between Pelagius and Augustine, and so is known as the father of Semi-Pelagianism, or Semi-Augustinianism. He emphasised the study of the Scriptures in the allegorical method.

Gaul was well endowed with schools of grammar and rhetoric ; but for philosophy and law the Gauls went to Rome. The chief Christian teachers of Gaul and Spain were trained in the rhetorical schools. But before the close of the fourth century monastic institutions began to multiply. Jerome and Rufinus, when in Gaul, had exerted an influence in that direction, and Ambrose also when he became bishop of Milan ; but the first monasteries of Gaul, so far as known, were those constituted by *Martin* (c. 317-398) at Poitiers about the year 370, and at Tours after he became bishop there in 372.

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 46.

Martin was educated at Pavia, and in early manhood came under the influence of Hilary of Poitiers. He acquired an extraordinary reputation for saintliness, and his influence was felt throughout Gaul. Sulpicius Severus, his celebrated disciple, says that Martin as bishop 'remained just what he was before ; with the same humbleness of heart, the same meanness of dress, and with a fullness of authority and grace which responded to the dignity of a bishop without infringing on the rule and the virtue of a monk. . . . There were eighty scholars, who were under training after the pattern of their saintly master . . . and what is that city or church which did not covet priests from the monastery of Martin ? ' ¹

Cassian (c. 360-435) was the chief promoter of monasticism in Gaul. He received his monastic training under Germanus, in a cloister at Bethlehem, and afterwards spent nearly ten years with his teacher among the hermits of the Egyptian deserts. He then went to Constantinople, and studied with Chrysostom. When the latter was driven into exile, Cassian went westward to Rome, and finally to Marseilles, where he established cloisters for both sexes. He regarded the cloister as a school of piety, and the discipline of religion as comprising the crucifixion of the flesh and the practice of piety. To this he added the study of the Scriptures, upon which he laid great stress. He taught that Biblical interpretation is of two kinds : the historical and the spiritual, the latter including the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The tropological seeks the moral in the Scriptures, the allegorical the religious meaning, the anagogical the supernatural and heavenly. For the instruction of his monks Cassian wrote *De institutis cœnobiorum*, on the life of the cloister, and *Collationes*, his 'conferences with the Egyptian Fathers.' The so-

¹ *Vide* Newman, *Historical Sketches*, i. p. 189, citing *Vit. M.*, c. vii. 10.

called *Rule of Cassian*, a condensation of the first four books of his *Institutes*, became the norm of monastic life in the West until the time of Benedict. Cassian laid great emphasis upon the necessity of work, and combined the service of the active and contemplative types of piety. Gennadius says: 'He wrote from experience, and in forcible language, or, to speak more clearly, with meaning back of his words, and action back of his talk.'¹ He also wrote *De incarnatione Domini contra Nestorium* at the request of Leo of Rome.

10. *The monastery of Lérins was established by Honoratus at the beginning of the fifth century, and soon became a centre of theological culture. It was at once a Biblical school and a dogmatic school. Hilary of Arles, Vincent, Eucherius, Faustus, and Gennadius were among the chief representatives of this school, which in theology was essentially conservative.*

Honoratus († 429) founded a monastery on the island of Lérins, c. 400. After ruling there as abbot for more than a quarter of a century, he was called to the see of Arles. Lérins soon became the most famous monastery of France, the centre of theological culture. This development was due especially to Vincent and Faustus. Eucherius writes to Salonius, his son :

'Thou didst go in thy tenth year to the wilderness of Lérins, and there wert taught and trained by Honoratus. There the learned Hilarius instructed thee, then novice in the cloister, now *summus episcopus*, in all departments of spiritual knowledge; and finally the work of thine education was completed by the holy men Salvian and Vincent, who in eloquence and knowledge stand equally high.'²

Hilary, 'the learned' († 449), was related to Honoratus, and came under his influence in early youth. Trained in

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 62.

² Kaufmann, *Rhetorenschulen und Klosterschulen*, in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1869, iv. p. 69.

the cloister of Lérins, he was chosen by Honoratus as his own successor in the episcopal chair. For twenty years Hilary ruled in Arles ; but he always remained in connection with Lérins, and so great was his love for the monastic life that he introduced a modified form of it among his clergy, following Augustine's example. He was noted both as teacher and preacher, and was celebrated more especially for learning, zeal, and a certain 'fiery eloquence.' Gennadius mentions his learning in the Holy Scriptures, and says that he 'published some few things, brief, but showing immortal genius, and indicating an erudite mind as well as capacity for vigorous speech ; among these that work which is of so great practical value to many, his *Life of Saint Honoratus.*'¹ At the time of his death Hilary was but forty-six years of age ; yet he had long been a leader among the bishops of Gaul, and had summoned several synods, and in the exercise of metropolitan rights had stood forth as the representative of the Gallican Church in a jurisdictional conflict with Rome. •

Eucherius came to Lérins about the year 422, was made bishop of Lyons in 434, and died there less than twenty years later. His writings are chiefly concerned with the Scriptures and the monastic life. In his *Formulæ spiritalis intellegentiæ* he made an important division of the *mystical* sense of Scripture into (1) the *allegorical*, what is to be believed in now ; (2) the *anagogical*, what is predicted. This distinction persists throughout the Middle Ages.² In his epistle *On Contempt for the World and Worldly Philosophy*, 'written in a style which shows sound learning and reasoning,'³ he urges the importance of Biblical study.

Vincent († 450) was one of the most famous scholars

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 70.

² Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 449.

³ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 64.

of Lérins, 'a man learned in the Holy Scriptures and very well informed in matters of ecclesiastical doctrine.'¹ His *Commonitorium*, written in 434, has been one of the most influential of books in the promotion of genuine Catholicism. It contains the famous saying :

'Magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est; hoc est etenim vere proprieque catholicum.'

Faustus († c. 490) was abbot of Lérins for a quarter of a century, and then became bishop of Riez. He was a Semi-Pelagian, and his chief work is *De gratia Dei*. Gennadius describes him as 'a man studious of the Divine Scriptures,' an 'excellent doctor, enthusiastically believed in and admired.'² Sidonius writes to him : 'The wisdom of this world and its philosophy you have appropriated for the service of the Church, and you fight the foes of the Gospel with their own weapons.'³

Gennadius († after 495) was another writer of the same type. He was a presbyter of Marseilles and the author of two important works : a continuation of Jerome's *De viris illustribus*; and a confession of faith, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, which was sent to Pope Gelasius.⁴

The school of Lérins trained many of the best theologians of France, and an extraordinary number of archbishops, bishops, and abbots. It probably gave birth to the so-called Athanasian Creed.⁵ The tendency of the school in the Pelagian controversy was towards Semi-Pelagianism.

11. *The monastic system of Cassian made its way to Great Britain : to Ireland through St. Patrick, to Wales through St. Illud, to Scotland through St. Ninian. Their*

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 65.

² Gennadius, *ibid.*, 86.

³ Vide Kaufmann, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. p. 28.

⁴ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 99.

⁵ Vide Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 100 seq.; *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 268 seq.

monasteries all became schools of theological learning, which later flowed back into Gaul and penetrated into Switzerland and even into Italy.

The monastic system of Cassian spread into Great Britain, and especially to Ireland, where culture found a refuge when Gaul and England were in the midst of their struggles with heathen invaders.

St. Patrick († c. 463) studied at one or more of the monasteries of Gaul, possibly with St. Martin at Tours. Little is known of his life apart from legend ; except that he was made a bishop, and went on a mission to Ireland, where he is said to have made many converts, ordained many clergy, and founded many monasteries.

St. Ninian also was influenced by Martin of Tours. He is described by Bede as 'a most reverent and holy man of the British nation, who had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth.' He was the first monastic bishop of Scotland. Tradition ascribes to him the founding of a school for his clergy at Whitherne, Galloway, which a century later was still attracting scholars in large numbers from a distance.

Finian, son of an Irish chieftain, went for training in theology first to Tours and then to Wales. Returning to Ireland he established many churches and monastic schools. The one founded at Clonard is said to have had at one time three thousand scholars. It consisted of a group of cells surrounding a church in the fashion that prevailed in Syria and Egypt, and became a model for the monasteries of Ireland. Finian is called 'the tutor of Erin's saints,' and he and his principal followers 'the twelve apostles of Ireland.'

Columba (c. 521-597) was also an Irishman of royal descent. He studied with both Finian of Movill and Finian of Clonard, was made a priest, and finally became a monastic bishop. He founded several great monasteries, among them Iona. Bede states that many such

institutions 'had their beginning through his disciples, both in Britain and Ireland ; but the island monastery . . . has the pre-eminence among them all.'¹ 'Thither, as from a nest, these sacred doves (*columbae*) took their flight to every quarter.'² 'From this island and the fraternity of these monks Aidan was sent to instruct the English nation in Christ. . . . All those who bore him company, whether they were tonsured or laymen, had to study either reading the Scriptures, or learning psalms.'³

Iltud (Illtyd), a Welsh saint, of the latter part of the fifth century, was a great-nephew of Germanus of Auxerre. He established a monastery and school in Wales, at Llanilltyd Fawr, Glamorgan, which continued in existence until the twelfth century. Iltud is called 'the teacher of the Britons.'⁴ His most famous pupil, Gildas of Bath (573), became the first British historian.

Columban (543-616) was born at Leinster, and finished his education at the famous monastery of Bangor, on the east coast of Ulster. About the year 585 he went with twelve companions to Gaul, and founded several monasteries in the Vosges. The one at Luxeuil became the most celebrated in Gaul. Columban gave his monasteries a rule, which was a revision of that of Cassian and approximated that of Benedict. But he emphasised teaching in the schools, in accordance with the practice of the Irish monasteries. He also prescribed the copying of manuscripts. His foundations were characterised by zeal for learning, above all for the Scriptures. From them went forth a large proportion of the clergy of Gaul. About the year 610 Columban was driven out of Burgundy by the hostility of its queen. In the course of his wanderings he came to Switzerland,

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 4.

² Odonellus, *vide* Drane, *Christian Schools*, p. 51.

³ Bede, iii. 5.

⁴ Sandys, i. p. 446.

and settled for three years at Bregenz. From there he went to Italy, leaving behind him, on Lake Constance, Gallus and several other followers. He was made welcome by the king of the Lombards, and established a monastery at Bobbio, which became a great centre of theological education. A remembrance of his long journeys is preserved in one of his sermons in which he exclaims :

‘O miserable human life ! . . . We must traverse thee, without dwelling in thee. No one dwells upon a great road ; we but march over it to reach the land beyond.’¹

Columbanus was acquainted with both Greek and Hebrew.

‘The knowledge of Greek, which had almost vanished in the West, was so widely diffused in the schools of Ireland, that, if any one knew Greek, it was assumed that he must have come from that country.’²

Bede tells of how Englishmen of all ranks flocked to Ireland ‘for the sake of divine studies,’ and went about ‘from one master’s cell to another. The Scots willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching *gratis*.’³ The traditions of these Irish schools were cherished by Gallus and the other followers of Columban, whom he left on Lake Constance. They founded the monastery of St. Gall (c. 614), which became the great centre of theological study for Switzerland.

12. The Augustinians of Gaul were also instructed in the cloister schools, but became unfriendly to them because of their Semi-Pelagianism, and so devoted their own attention to the building up of episcopal schools. The leaders among them were Prosper of Aquitaine and Cœsarius of Arles.

¹ *Vide Schaff, Hist. Christ. Ch.*, iv. p. 88.

² Sandys, i. p. 451 ; but see ‘Esposito’ in *Studies*, i. (1912) pp. 665 ff.

³ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 27.

Prosper of Aquitaine (c. 390-460) was educated at Arles, but early came under the influence of Augustine, and was the chief opponent of Semi-Pelagianism during his lifetime. His writings are for the most part in defence of Augustinianism, or in attack upon Semi-Pelagianism ; but they include a chronicle based upon Eusebius and Jerome, continuing the narrative to the year 455. The first section was written from the point of view of Gaul, the second and third sections from that of Rome, where Prosper spent some years. Gennadius calls him 'a man scholastic in style and vigorous in statement.'¹

Cæsarius (c. 470-542) studied at Lérins, but left there in 498, and became for the rest of his life a zealous Augustinian. In 502 he was made bishop of Arles, and so remained for forty years. Bardenhewer regards him as 'perhaps the greatest popular preacher of the ancient Latin Church.'² His writings were chiefly sermons, and he prepared homiliaries, including a collection of expository sermons. But he was also extremely influential in the departments of church government and monastic training. In less than ten years he held five important synods. The Synod of Orange, of 529, at which he presided, settled the conflict over Semi-Pelagianism, as its decision was approved by the pope and became symbolical. The synod decided for the Augustinian doctrine of grace, but not for the Augustinian doctrine of predestination ; and in its decree defined a mild Augustinianism, which was commonly held in the Church until the Reformation.³ The Synod of Vaison, convened in the same year, took important action in its decision that every presbyter presiding in a parish should take into his house young unmarried lectors, in accordance with

¹ Gennadius, *De ill. eccl. script.*, 85.

² Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, p. 611.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 127 seq.

the custom that prevailed in Italy, and as a good father should instruct them in spiritual things. They should be made to sing psalms, diligently read the Holy Scriptures, and receive instruction in the law of the Lord.¹ In this provision for the training of the younger members of the clergy by the higher may be seen the influences brought to bear upon Cæsarius and his fellow-bishops in Gaul at this period. The schools of grammar and rhetoric, under the influence of Christian teachers, gradually became Christian schools. In the grammar schools religious instruction was added to reading, writing and arithmetic ; and in the rhetorical schools the study of the Scriptures was added to the study of classic authors. In the second quarter of the fifth century a rhetorical teacher at Marseilles, *Claudius Marius Victor*, composed a commentary on Genesis in hexameters for the instruction of the young. Cæsarius was recommended to study rhetoric with the well-known teacher *Pomerius of Lyons*, and to his influence is attributed by some the conversion of Cæsarius to Augustinianism. Pomerius used the catechetical form of instruction in a dialogue on the nature of the soul. Eucherius applied the same method to the explanation of various passages of Scripture. The methods of the grammar and rhetorical schools were appropriated by the monasteries. The monastic training was in its very nature a training in religion, and that not only in religious life but in knowledge.

Cæsarius, who had enjoyed that training at Lérins, drew up rules for monasteries of both sexes, which were widely influential, and constitute an important part of his service on behalf of religious education. Kaufmann regards them as of great importance for the development of cloister schools. ‘From the time that they were published, cloisters multiplied rapidly.’ He remarks that the cloister was referred to at that time as a *schola*,

¹ *Vide* Kaufmann, in Raumer’s *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. p. 70.

and the monks as *discipuli*.¹ As to the still stronger influence from Italy felt at the Synod of Vaison, it will be considered in the following section.

It is evident, as Kaufmann shows,² that great importance was attached to the personal influence of the bishop or presbyter over his assistant clergy. Familiar and constant intercourse with a man of piety and learning, training under his personal direction, was deemed the most desirable method of education for the clergy. Thus the bishops in Gaul as elsewhere were eventually required to give instruction themselves to the members of the minor orders, especially to the lectors, and at first in their own houses.

13. *The Pope's school at Rome devoted its chief attention to training the clergy in the creed, the liturgy and the canon law. The study of letters and philosophy also continued, though to a limited extent as compared with ancient times. The great pope of the fifth century was Leo I., whose influence upon the Church throughout the world exceeded that of any of his predecessors.*

There was at Rome a regular succession of popes of various grades of ability, and other ecclesiastical leaders who had been trained in the Roman schools, many of the ablest among them in the higher schools of philosophy and law as well. These gave special attention to the administration of the Church; and under them there was a gradual but steady development in church law and liturgy. The popes, moreover, regarded themselves as the conservators of orthodoxy, and in this interest carried on a large correspondence with the churches throughout the world, especially with the patriarchal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople.

¹ Kaufmann, *Historisches Taschenbuch*, iv. pp. 62 seq.

² Kaufmann, *ibid.*, p. 71.

Pope Siricius (385) made rules with regard to clerical advancement, which were further developed by *Zosimus* (418). The latter pope required five years of service for the four lowest orders, four years for the sub-diaconate, and five for the diaconate ; thus fourteen years of service in the six lower orders before the candidate could become a priest. The service of the lower orders was more important than it appears to be on the surface. The doorkeeper was more like the doorkeeper of a masonic lodge than a modern sexton. He must have a personal acquaintance with all those admitted to the Christian assembly. Life or death often depended upon this knowledge. He must know those who were to retire before the canon of the mass. He must exercise caution and discrimination, and must be kind and cordial. He must have some of the pastoral gifts. The exorcist, whose work it was to exorcise demons, had to be a man possessed of piety and of the Divine Spirit, and with some knowledge of human character and of pastoral medicine. The reader must have had some rhetorical training in order to read the lessons from Holy Scripture and the prayers of the liturgy, and also some knowledge of the Scriptures and the prayers which he read before the congregation. The acolytes assisted in the minor parts of the Holy Communion, and were usually choristers as well. The sub-deacon assisted in the Eucharist, and in the care of the poor and the sick. He must have pastoral training. The deacon was especially charged with the pastoral care. One can easily see that fourteen years of such preparatory service was an excellent education for the practical work of the higher ministry and of the priesthood, except so far as the prophetic functions are concerned ; and even in this regard the long regular participation in the minor services of religion, as a reader and a hearer of sermons, prepared the candidate for that work also when the time for it came.

The greatest pope of the fifth century was *Leo I.* (440-461). He was a theologian as well as an ecclesiastic, and composed a dogmatic formula, called *Leo's Tome*, which was adopted at the Council of Chalcedon (451).¹ This was a triumph of Roman doctrine. But in other respects that council displeased the pope ; as it exalted the see of Constantinople, or new Rome, to a place second in importance to that of old Rome, with an authority in the East similar to that which Rome had long exercised in the West. Against this action Rome has always protested.

The popes adhered to the Augustinian doctrine of sin and grace, but in a practical rather than a dogmatic way. They sustained the Augustinians in their conflict with the Pelagians and Semi-Pelagians ; but would never enforce what is known as higher or strict Augustinianism, in its doctrine of absolute predestination, or in other refinements and logical deductions from Augustine's doctrine. Boniface II. approved the decrees of the Council of Orange (529), and these became the dogma of the Roman Church.²

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Fundamental Christian Faith*, pp. 295 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 127 seq.

CHAPTER VII

WESTERN SCHOOLS OF THE SIXTH, SEVENTH
AND EIGHTH CENTURIES

1. *The sixth century witnessed a revival of education in the West contemporary with its decline in the East.*

The year 529 was distinguished by several most important events : (1) in the West, the Synod of Orange decided finally for the Western Church the Semi-Pelagian controversy, and how far Augustinianism was to be the official doctrine of the Church. (2) In the East, the school of Athens was finally closed by the order of Justinian. (3) Justinian's code of civil law was published at Constantinople, to be followed in 533 by the *Digest* and the *Institutes*, summing up the legal learning of the Roman Empire and reducing it to systematic form as the Roman Civil Law. (4) The Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino was founded in Southern Italy.

These are all epoch-making events in Church history, marking the final period of the Ancient Church.

2. *At the beginning of the sixth century Rome produced Boëthius, one of the most important of the scholars of the world, a man mediating between the ancient classic culture and Christianity better than any one else.*

Boëthius (480-524) was of illustrious Roman stock, 'the head of the noble Anician house, which had been famous for six centuries.'¹ He had the highest culture

¹ *Sandys*, i. p. 251.

of the age, both in literature, philosophy, and law ; and was as familiar with Greek as with Latin. He undertook the important task of translating Plato and Aristotle into Latin, and expounding them to the Latin world. He held to their substantial agreement, and therefore emphasised their agreement rather than their difference. To quote his cotemporary Cassiodorus :

‘Through him Pythagoras the musician, Ptolemy the astronomer, Nicomachus the arithmetician, Euclid the geometer, Plato the theologian, Aristotle the logician, Archimedes the mechanician, had learned to speak the Roman language.’¹

As Sandys says : ‘He was the last of the learned Romans who understood the language and studied the literature of Greece ; and he was the first to interpret to the Middle Ages the logical treatises of Aristotle.’²

The most famous work of Boëthius is *De philosophiæ consolatione*, which vied with Augustine’s *Confessions* as a devotional book in the Middle Ages. It was written in the tower of Pavia, where Boëthius had been confined on a false charge of treason. He had rendered notable service to the state, both as consul and as *magister officiorum*, but that did not save him from a traitor’s death. Dante voices the judgment of the Mediæval Church when he places Boëthius with Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard and other great theologians in the heaven of the sun, and describes him as a saint come ‘from martyrdom and exile to this peace,’ and prepared to prove to all who will listen the deceitfulness of this world.³ Gibbon calls the *Consolation* ‘a golden volume, not unworthy of the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author.’⁴ One thousand years later Sir Thomas More, similarly placed in the

¹ Cassiodorus, *Variae*, i. 45.

² Sandys, i. p. 253.

³ Dante, *Paradiso*, x. 124-129.

⁴ Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iv. p. 201.

Tower of London, turned for comfort to the *Consolation of Boëthius*.

3. *Benedict founded a monastery at Monte Cassino, in 529, the first of the great Benedictine monasteries, which speedily spread over the West, and became the nurseries of education and culture.*

Benedict (c. 480-543) was born at Nursia, and was sent for education to Rome. But at an early age he undertook the monastic life. He gathered about him many disciples, among whom the most distinguished was the young Roman noble, known as St. Maur, who subsequently carried the order into France. Benedict and his followers at first established themselves at Subiaco, not far from Rome ; and later, in 529, at Monte Cassino, fifty miles to the south, between Rome and Naples. Benedict drew up rules of discipline, which have been used by his order ever since, and are the basis of the rules of all later orders. The three chief Benedictine virtues are silent reflection, humility, and obedience ; the three activities are worship, manual labour, and *lectio divina*. Even at meals there was a lector to read aloud to those who were eating. On the basis of this reading grew up the monastic schools of the Benedictines ; for it involved the gathering of books, the copying of books, and the arrangement of books in libraries, as well as their use in reading and study. Scholarship naturally and ever bases itself upon libraries, and cannot live without books.

4. *Junilius Africanus, who had been trained in grammar, rhetoric and law in Rome, and was a high public official, strove to promote the study of theology by introducing the principles and methods of the school of Nisibis into the West.*

Junilius († 550), an African by birth, trained in the West in law as well as in grammar and rhetoric, became *quaestor sacri palatii* at Constantinople. Here he came

under the influence of Paul of Nisibis (c. 543-545). He translated the latter's work on Biblical study into Latin under the title *Instituta regularia divinæ legis*; only he put it into a catechetical form, in two books. Through this work the influence of the Syrian schools passed over into the West. It held its own as an authority in the Western Church until the Reformation. In this dialogue the disciple asks :

‘What are those things which we ought to guard in the understanding of the Sacred Scriptures ?’

The master replies :

‘That those things which are said may agree with Him who says them ; that they should not be discrepant with the reasons for which they were said ; that they should accord with their times, places, order, and intention.’¹

5. *Cassiodorus founded monasteries of the Cassian rule with libraries, and prepared several works for the instruction of the monks and neophytes. He proposed the founding of a theological school at Rome after the model of the school of Nisibis. His influence extended deep down into the Middle Ages.*

It is doubtful whether the Benedictines would have done so much for the cause of theological scholarship if it had not been for a scholar named Cassiodorus, who had evidently been stimulated by a study of Junilius' work.

Cassiodorus (c. 485-575), a noble senator of Rome, was born in southern Italy. He was thoroughly trained in literature, philosophy and law, and served the state in several high offices. As *quaestor* he had to ‘speak the king's words in the king's own presence,’ to ‘learn (his) inmost thoughts’ and ‘utter them to his subjects.’ As *magister officiorum* he was at one time prime minister in all save the name. He published his official letters

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 452; Kihn, *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten*, p. 526.

under the title of *Variæ* ; also a Chronicle, and a History of the Goths. Late in life he founded two monasteries under the Cassian rule, both in Calabria, on the bay of Squillace. To one of these he retired (c. 540), and here he prepared various works for the instruction of his monks in several different departments of theology. These writings include : (1) Commentaries on the Psalms and the Epistles ; (2) a *Historia tripartita*, combining in a Latin version the narratives of the three Greek historians, Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, and used as a text-book in Church history for centuries ; (3) a work on orthography and other less important writings ; (4) above all, *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum*, which urge the study of the Scriptures in the first part, of the classics in the second. The first book insists upon the study of the Scriptures by all, and is a guide to their study. It recommends the works of the Fathers, mentions the best commentaries on the Bible, and gives an account of the canon. The second book urges the study of the classics, but only by those monks who have the proper taste and qualifications ; the others must engage instead in manual labour—an excellent resolution. This part gives a summary statement as to the seven liberal arts. One-half of this part is devoted to logic or dialectic (as it is called) ; this includes an abstract of the *Organon* of Aristotle, and a chapter on logical fallacies. Rhetoric also is quite fully treated. In the preface to this work Cassiodorus tells how he came to write it. He was troubled that, while there were many to give instruction in secular learning, the Holy Writings lacked teachers. He therefore proposed to Pope Agapetus the founding of a theological school in Rome on the model of those of Alexandria and Nisibis. Agapetus went so far as to select a house on the Cœlian hill, and to build a library there. But the plan could not be carried out because of the invasion of Italy by

Belisarius. Cassiodorus therefore determined to supply 'in place of instructors books of instruction, in which might be collected, out of both sacred and secular learning, that which is most essential.'¹ He also built up a great library for his monks, collecting manuscripts from all parts and providing for their transcription. 'By copying the divine precepts,' he said, one 'spreads them far and wide, enjoying the glorious privilege of silently preaching salvation to mortals by means of the hand alone, and thus foiling with pen and ink the temptations of the devil. Every word of the Lord written by the copyist is a wound inflicted on Satan.'² Sandys says :

'It is generally agreed that the civilisation of subsequent centuries, and, in particular, the institution of monastic libraries and monastic schools, where the light of learning continued to shine in the "Dark Ages," owed much to the prescience of Cassiodorus.'³

6. The monastic schools of the Benedictines received a great stimulus from Pope Gregory I., whose influence was most potent during the entire Middle Ages. Ranking with Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine, he makes the fourth, and in some respects the greatest, of the Fathers of the Western Church.

Gregory (c. 540-604) was born a Roman, of high family, and was thoroughly trained in the grammar and rhetorical schools, and 'as a saint in the midst of saints.' He also studied law, and became a government official, and at the age of about thirty *praetor* of Rome. After the death of his father he retired from the world, and used his great wealth in the establishment of seven monasteries of the Benedictine order, six in Sicily, and one in his own palace in Rome, on Monte Cœlio. This is the very place where Pope Agapetus laid the foundation for a theological school. But Gregory's ability,

¹ *Vide* Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1105 *seq.*

² Cassiodorus, *Institutes*, i. 30.

³ Sandys, i. pp. 266 *seq.*

more especially as a man of affairs, could not remain hidden in a monastery. In 577 he was made a cardinal deacon, and two years later papal nuncio at Constantinople. About 585 he returned to Rome, and became abbot of his cloister. Attracted by Anglo-Saxon boys in the slave market, he resolved to go on a mission to England. He had already started on his journey, and was three days from Rome, when he was recalled by the pope. Soon afterwards (590) Pelagius II. died, and Gregory was chosen pope by acclamation. Six years later he sent to England the abbot Augustine with a company of monks of the Benedictine order, forty in all, to convert the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity. As Augustine found 'a great harvest and but few labourers,' Gregory sent to him 'ministers of the word,' and 'all things that were necessary for the worship and service of the Church . . . besides many books.'¹ Bretholz remarks that in Gregory's time 'the papal collection of books was not insignificant,' and was drawn upon as a source of supply.² Gregory was less a scholar than a man of affairs; yet he greatly raised the scholarship of the Church of his time. John the Deacon asserts that he surrounded himself with learned clerics and pious monks; and that in his palace 'the study of all the liberal arts once more flourished.' Wisdom built there a temple, 'supporting the porticoes of the apostolic see by the seven liberal arts.'³ Gregory of Tours likewise describes him as 'a patron of learning.'⁴ Theiner says that his palace was a 'great seminary,' where youths in training for the ministry, and men grown old in the work of the Church, lived in community, and were schooled for service. Gregory was 'the creative spirit of that great ecclesiastical institution,' from which went forth

¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 29.

² Bretholz, 'Lateinische Paläographie,' in *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, i. (ed. 1) p. 52.

³ Drane, *Christian Schools*, p. 58.

⁴ *Vide Schaff*, iv. p. 604.

men of the greatest influence, who sought to introduce everywhere similar institutions.¹ Gregory also established, or rather re-established, a choir-school, which became the model for such schools in all Western Europe. From the time of Ambrose in the West, and still earlier in the East, choir-schools had existed in connection with certain great churches. But from the time of Gregory such schools began to be attached to the cathedral churches, and select boys to be trained in them, not only in music, but also in grammar and rhetoric. Many of these boys went from the choir-school into the minor orders of the ministry. To such boys participation in the various services of the Church became second nature: it was their life and dominant experience. Gregory's work on behalf of public worship included a revision of the liturgy, and the introduction of the *Cantus Gregorianus*, which has never passed out of use in the Church, and was revived by Pope Pius x.

Gregory's most important labour was on the practical side. He devoted much attention to pastoral care, and wrote *Dialogi* in four books, an important work relating to the life and miracles of Italian Fathers (a collection of legends), and *Regula pastoralis sive liber curæ pastoralis*, a very valuable treatise, which still remains a classic text-book for Pastoral Theology. Gregory also wrote homilies on the Gospels and on Ezekiel, and a commentary on Job, in which he seeks first the literal sense, then the typical, and finally and chiefly the moral sense, so that the book is principally a work on Christian morals. Gregory was a great preacher, and his correspondence was enormous, no less than eight hundred and fifty genuine letters having been preserved. These are of very great value for the light they throw upon contemporary history, as well as upon the mind of this great pope on all manner of subjects,

¹ Theiner, *Gesch. d. geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, p. 22.

especially those relating to ecclesiastical administration and the Christian life. Gregory's influence upon the Latin Church was greater than that of any other pope all through the Middle Ages down to the Reformation.

7. The study of theology in the latter half of the sixth and throughout the seventh century was pursued in the episcopal schools for the secular clergy, and in monastic schools for both seculars and regulars.

The monastic schools at this period were of either the Cassian or the Benedictine rule. Gradually, however, the older Cassian rule was displaced by the Benedictine over the greater part of the West.

Gregory of Tours (538-594) was trained in the episcopal school of his uncle, Gallus, bishop of Clermont, and his successor Avitus. At the age of thirty-five Gregory was chosen bishop of Tours, which was at that time 'the religious centre of Gaul.'¹ His great work is his *Historia Francorum*, in ten books, by which he became the father of history for France. He also wrote lives of the Fathers, and of saints and martyrs, and a commentary on the Psalms, of which fragments only are extant.

Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530-600) was born at Treviso, and educated at Ravenna. He united with a passion for poetry a love of travel, which kept him a wanderer for many years. Visiting Tours on a pilgrimage to St. Martin's tomb, he came under the influence of Bishop Euphronius. At Poitiers he was made priest, and in 599 the bishop. He is said to have known most of the influential persons in Gaul, and was the friend of Gregory of Tours. He became famous as a Christian poet, and some of his hymns are still used in the liturgy of the Church.

8. Isidore of Seville was thoroughly trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and in classic and Christian literature,

¹ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, iv. p. 659.

and was the most learned man of his day, the father of encyclopædia for the Middle Ages.

Little is known of education in Spain during the so-called 'Dark Age,' yet it is dark to us just because of our ignorance of it. Probably education was obtainable in Spain, as in Gaul, in public schools of grammar and rhetoric, and in episcopal and monastic schools of the older type. Indeed, some of the clearest traces of the existence of training schools for the clergy at this period are to be found in the canons of Spanish councils.¹ There must have been some educational facilities to account for the learning of such a man as Isidore of Seville.

Isidore (c. 560-636) was thoroughly trained in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, and in classic literature. He was one of three brothers, all bishops, and was brought up under the care of the eldest, Leander of Seville, himself a scholar and a friend of Gregory the Great. The second Council of Toledo (531) had provided for the instruction of boys destined for the ministry 'in the house of the Church under the eyes of the bishop, by him who shall be appointed over them.'² It is therefore probable that Isidore was trained in the bishop's school at Seville, and later, as he advanced through the minor orders, by Leander himself. Isidore succeeded his brother as archbishop, and during his episcopate of thirty-five years he did much to promote learning in Spain. The school of Seville under his rule attracted students from far and near. He presided at the fourth Council of Toledo (633), which required all bishops to establish similar cathedral schools, in which Latin, Greek and Hebrew should be likewise taught. Alcuin calls him *Isidorus lumen Hispaniæ*.³

¹ *Vide* Theiner, *Gesch. d. geistl. Bildungsanstalten*, p. 29.

² *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 13.

³ *Vide* Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 63.

By his writings he was to become a great light for the whole Western Church, in schools of all kinds, throughout the Middle Ages. He was a man of enormous learning for that age, a compiler and an encyclopædist. His greatest work is a kind of encyclopædia, in twenty books, entitled *Etymologiae sive Origines*; and yet it is the work, not of many men, but of one.

Books I.-III. discuss the *Trivium* and *Quadrivium*; Book IV., medicine; V., law, and chronology; VI., the Biblical writings and their authors, libraries, writing materials, and the feasts and offices of the Church; VII., the Trinity, and the heavenly and earthly hierarchies; VIII., the Church, sects and philosophical schools; IX., languages, nations, government, and society; X., etymologies; XI., man; XII., animals; XIII., the world, heaven and the elements; XIV., the earth and the different countries; XV., the dwellings and buildings of men; XVI., stones and metals; XVII., agriculture; XVIII., war, legal contests, amusements, etc.; XIX., ships, architecture and clothing; XX., food and drink, furniture and tools.

The work is really a collection rather than an encyclopædia in the modern sense, the material being arranged according to subject-matter and not alphabetically.

Only the most important of Isidore's numerous works can be noticed here. His *Libri sententiarum* is 'the first Latin compendium of faith and morals.'¹ 'Its influence has been incalculable.'² His general introduction to the Scriptures, *Proæmiorum liber*, his *Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum*, and his *Scripture Allegories* are all compilations. Of special interest is his work *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, which is in the main original, and treats in the first part of 'the origin of the offices,' in the second of 'the origin of the ministry.' Polemics is represented by a work against the Jews, *De fide catholica*, which was translated into other languages and was widely read; history by a Chronicle based on Julius Africanus,

¹ *Vide 'Isidore' in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

² Schaff, iv. p. 666.

Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Tunnuna, a *History of the Goths, Vandals and Suevi*, and a continuation of the biographies of *Illustrious Men* by Jerome and Gennadius, which brings the record down to the beginning of the seventh century. The work entitled *Differentiarum* gives in its first book a 'dictionary of synonyms,' in the second a 'dictionary of theology.' *De natura rerum* is a work on natural philosophy; *De nominibus legis et evangeliorum liber* a valuable source for the literature and art of the early Middle Ages. Finally Isidore's monastic rule, derived from ancient sources, is important for the history of monasticism in Spain.

9. The Benedictine rule and its methods of education were carried to England by Augustine in 597. One of his successors, Theodore of Tarsus, founded a school and library at Canterbury, which served as a model for many others. These Benedictine schools produced many great teachers, the most distinguished of whom was the Venerable Bede, the greatest scholar of his age.

Augustine († 605) arrived in Kent with his monks in the year 597, and became, by appointment of Gregory the Great, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England. Before his death he had established Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons.

Among his successors in the see of Canterbury was Theodore (668-690), a learned Greek from Tarsus, who founded a great school and library at Canterbury, and established monastic schools in other important centres, where the study of Greek as well as Latin was promoted. 'The English churches gained more spiritual increase while he was archbishop than ever before.'¹ He was 'well instructed in secular and divine literature, as also in Greek and Latin,' and had as his assistant the Abbot Hadrian, an African by race, 'well versed in Holy Writ,

¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, v. 8.

experienced in monastic and ecclesiastical discipline, and excellently skilled in both the Greek and the Latin tongues.' He had been the pope's choice for the see, and was allowed to give place to Theodore only on condition that he took upon himself the charge of seeing that Theodore did not, 'according to the custom of the Greeks, introduce anything contrary to the true faith into the Church where he presided.'¹ The two seem to have worked in perfect harmony, and Bede thus describes their ministry :

Theodore 'was gladly received and heard by all persons, and everywhere attended and assisted by Hadrian, he taught the right rule of life. . . . And forasmuch as both of them were . . . fully instructed in both sacred and secular literature, they gathered a crowd of disciples, and rivers of wholesome knowledge flowed from them daily to water the hearts of their hearers ; and, together with the books of Holy Scripture, they also taught them the metrical art, astronomy, and ecclesiastical arithmetic. So that there are still living at this day some of their scholars, who are as well versed in the Greek and Latin tongues as in their own wherein they were born.'²

The most notable of the pupils of Canterbury was *Aldhelm* († 709), who had previously been trained in the Irish foundation at Malmesbury, and therefore represented both schools. He made 'such rapid strides in learning, that ere long he was thought a better scholar than either his Greek or Latin teachers. . . . He had mastered all the idioms of the Greek language, and wrote and spoke it as though he were a Greek by birth.'³ While a student at Canterbury he wrote to his bishop :

'The truth is that there is a necessity for spending a great deal of time in this seat of learning, especially if one be inflamed with the love of study, and desirous, as I am, of becoming acquainted with all the secrets of the Roman jurisprudence.' Of the science of numbers as taught there he writes: 'For my own part all the

¹ Bede, iv. 1.

² Bede, iv. 2.

³ Sandys, p. 466, cited from Migne, lxxxix. 66, 85.

labours of my former studies are trifling in comparison with this. So that I may say with Jerome on a like occasion, “ before I entered on that study, I thought myself a master, but now I find I was but a learner.”¹

Returning to Malmesbury Aldhelm taught there, and students came to him from distant parts.

‘ Some admired the sanctity of the man, and others the depth of his learning. He was as simple in piety as he was multifarious in knowledge, having imbibed the seven liberal arts so perfectly that he was wonderful in each, and unrivalled in all.’

Bede refers to his ‘ marvellous learning both in liberal and ecclesiastical studies,’ and to the ‘ notable’ books written by him.² As a poet also he was famous, and has been called ‘ the father of Anglo-Latin verse.’³

Another famous teacher of that period was *Benedict Biscop* (c. 628-689), a great traveller, who became a monk at Lérins, and in the course of his journeys on the continent visited seventeen monasteries. He came to Canterbury in the train of Theodore, and both studied and taught in the archbishop’s school. He visited Rome six times, and procured many manuscripts, with which he enriched the library of Canterbury, and also two monasteries of his own foundation, the one at Wearmouth (674), the other at Jarrow (681). These institutions he endowed with all that art as well as learning had contributed to enrich the monastic life. It is remarkable how in England also, at this early period, scholars of different race and language gathered in the same school. Theodore the Greek from Tarsus in Cilicia, and Hadrian the African from Rome, worked together in Canterbury, England, for the advancement of learning, assisted by Biscop, a native scholar, who had gleaned in most of the great continental schools. Biscop did much to spread in England the traditions of Rome, and through his

¹ *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, p. 68.

² Bede, v. 18.

³ Sandys, i. p. 467.

monasteries Roman music and the Roman liturgy became widely known in that land.

To the care of Benedict Biscop the youthful *Bede* (673-c. 735) was entrusted, and in his monasteries Bede's whole life was passed. When Biscop died, Ceolfrid, whom he had made abbot of Jarrow, replaced him in the guardianship of one who was destined to become the greatest scholar of his time. Bede is 'a witness to the excellence of Benedict's collection of books, for though he says : "I spent my whole life in the dwelling of my monastery,"' yet, as Poole remarks :

'He shows an extent of knowledge in classical literature and natural science entirely unrivalled in his own day and probably not surpassed for many generations to come. Yet, be it remembered, it was first and foremost as a theologian and interpreter of the Scriptures that the Middle Ages revered him ; and it is as an historian and the father of English historians that we now see his greatest distinction. Nor can the student of his works fail to recognise that Bede, like Ealdhelm, combined the current which flowed eastward from Ireland with that which came with Benedict from Canterbury. His genial and versatile learning is no less characteristic than the loyalty in which he held fast to the strict tradition of the Catholic Church.'¹

Bede's writings include an invaluable *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, Lives of the Abbots of Jarrow, a Book of Hymns in various metres, a Book of Epigrams, treatises *De natura rerum*, *De tempore ratione*, textbooks on orthography and other subjects, sermons, letters, translations, and commentaries upon a great part of the Bible. He knew something of Greek, and probably of Hebrew also. The Monk of St. Gall calls him 'the greatest commentator on the Scriptures since St. Gregory.'² He was also an inspiring teacher, and students came to him from all parts. They were impressed not only with his learning, but with the ardour

¹ Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, p. 20.

² *Vide* Thatcher and M'Neal, *Source Book for Mediæval History*, pp. 51 seq.

with which he turned from work to worship, and combined study with prayer. His last hours were spent in an effort to finish a translation of the Gospel of John.

10. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, went forth from the Benedictine schools of England, and carried their methods of education into Germany. His chief follower, Sturmi, established the monastery of Fulda, which became a great centre of learning for centuries.

Winfrid, or *Boniface* as he is called (c. 675-755), was born in Devonshire, and educated at the monasteries of Exeter and Nursling. He undertook a mission to the heathen in Thuringia, Friesland, Bavaria, and elsewhere, and became 'the apostle of Germany.' He was appointed by *Gregory III.* archbishop of Mainz (c. 745); but in less than ten years he resigned from his see, and took up once more his missionary labours. A year or two later he and his companions were massacred in Friesland by a heathen band.

Boniface was a man of practical ability rather than a scholar; but he called to his assistance men of learning, promoted the establishment of monastic schools, and provided for the training of the clergy. He worked in harmony with *Chrodegang* of Metz, whose *Regulæ canonicorum* became the norm for many of the bishoprics of Germany and France.

Several of the disciples of Boniface built up great theological schools. *Gregory of Utrecht* gave to his school a reputation that drew students from France and England as well as Germany. Under Bishop *Willibald*, Eichstädt acquired a rival school. Others might be named; but none attained the importance of the monastery founded by *Sturmi* at Fulda (744), which remained for centuries a great centre of theological learning. Three years after the founding of this institution *Sturmi* visited Monte Cassino to study the

workings of the Benedictine rule in the parent house. A number of monks were sent from Monte Cassino to Fulda, and doubtless carried with them those traditions of learning for which the Italian monastery was so famous. At the time of Sturmi's death (779) the number of monks at Fulda is said to have reached 400, exclusive of the students in training for the priesthood.¹

11. *The Venerable Bede left a succession of notable scholars, culminating in Alcuin, who introduced the next period in the history of theological scholarship.*

One of the chief pupils of Bede was *Egbert* († 766), who became archbishop of York, and made the school of York a famous seat of learning. To Bede he was 'a devoted Samuel,' and in him 'the same learning and doctrine were conspicuous that had shone so brightly in his teachers . . . in St. Gregory, the apostle of the Angles; in Gregory's disciple, Augustine; in St. Benedict; and in Cuthbert and Theodorus, the followers of the first Father and Apostle of the Church in all things.'²

Albert, the chief teacher of Alcuin, assisted Egbert and became his successor both as archbishop and as head of the school. Alcuin describes Albert as 'teaching the catholic faith in the spirit of love,' and as 'observing the natural dispositions' of his pupils 'with wonderful skill.'³ Both Egbert and Albert laid great stress upon the study of the Scriptures; and both laboured to build up a great library. In the time of Alcuin the library of York 'far surpassed any possessed by either England or France in the twelfth century, whether that of Christ Church, Canterbury, of St. Victor at Paris, or of Bec in Normandy. . . . Neither Alfred the Great, St. Dunstan,

¹ *Vide* Theiner, *Geschichte der geistlichen Bildungsanstalten*, p. 36.

² Migne, *P. L.*, ci. 94; *vide* Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 54 seq.

³ *Vide* Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, pp. 84 seq.

nor John of Salisbury, had access to libraries like those known to Bede and Alcuin.¹

Alcuin (735-804) was trained in the school of York under Egbert and Albert, and so under the influence of Bede. The Monk of St. Gall calls him Bede's pupil, and attributes his knowledge of the Scriptures to Bede. He assisted Albert in the school and the library, and accompanied him on his journeys in search of manuscripts. In 778 Albert resigned to him the charge of both school and library, commanding to him the manuscripts as 'the dearest of all his treasures.' Several years later Alcuin, returning from a visit to Rome, met with Charlemagne and was persuaded by him to undertake the direction of education at his court. In 782 he was installed as master of the king's school, and, sustained by Charlemagne, he began what proved to be a great revival of learning on the continent.

¹ Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 60.

END OF VOL. I.

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PART I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES

1. *A palace school was established by the Franks for the training of princes and nobles; when Charlemagne appointed Alcuin as its superintendent, it rapidly became a great centre of learning.*

The palace school was founded by one of the predecessors of Charlemagne for the training of the sons of princes and nobles. As a court school it moved about with the monarch from place to place. Charlemagne himself was trained there.¹ He had some knowledge of Greek as well as Latin, and studied with the grammarian, *Peter of Pisa*; possibly also with *Paul the Deacon* († 797), a Benedictine monk and noted Lombard scholar, who taught Greek at his court for a time, and afterwards wrote a history of the Lombards.

The school of the palace was reorganised by *Alcuin*, and became celebrated during the eight years of his superintendence. His classes were frequented by Charlemagne himself, the members of his family and

¹ *Vide Maitre, Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques, pp. 34 seq.*

many of his courtiers. The emperor sought a reform in education, and states this purpose in the introduction to the Book of Homilies, revised at his order by Paul the Deacon :

‘ Desirous as we are of improving the condition of the churches, we impose upon ourselves the task of reviving, with the utmost zeal, the study of letters, well-nigh extinguished through the neglect of our ancestors. We charge all our subjects, as far as they may be able, to cultivate the liberal arts, and we set them the example.’

In the year 787 Charlemagne issued the famous capitulary addressed to all the bishops and abbots in his realm :

‘ During past years we have often received letters from different monasteries informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf ; and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our minds the fear lest, if the skill to write rightly were thus lacking, so too would the power of rightly comprehending the sacred Scriptures be far less than was fitting ; and we all know that though verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding are yet more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God ; so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For as these contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is the better instructed in learning. Therefore, let there be chosen for this work men who are both able and willing to learn, and also desirous of instructing others ; and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling the earnestness with which we recommend it to them.’¹

Alcuin was the chief assistant of Charlemagne in the work of educational reform. According to the Monk of

¹ *Vide* Mullinger, *The Schools of Charles the Great*, 1877, pp. 98 seq.

St. Gall, 'his teaching bore such fruit among the Gauls and Franks that they approached the ancient Romans and Athenians in learning.'¹ But the journeys of the court Alcuin found irksome, and in 790 he withdrew from the palace school. In the following years he took an important part in the theological discussions with the Adoptionists. Although never advanced beyond the order of deacons, he was given a seat in the Council of Frankfort (794), in view of his great reputation for learning 'in the doctrines of the Church.' He took a leading part in the deliberations of that body, which was composed of representative bishops from all parts of the West, was presided over by papal legates, and took decisive action against Adoptionism and image worship. Five years later, at the Council of Aachen, Alcuin had what he himself calls 'a great disputation' with a leader of the Adoptionists, Felix of Urgel, and won from him a public confession of error. In 796 Alcuin was appointed abbot of the celebrated monastery of St. Martin at Tours, and there he laboured until his death. He was a great teacher rather than a man of learning, and his *Grammatica* gives his views on education. While chiefly a grammarian, he made his influence felt all along the range of scholarship, and wrote text-books on grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, astronomy and the other liberal arts, some of which have been lost. The Monk of St. Gall declares that his familiarity with the Scriptures 'in their whole extent' was beyond that of all the other scholars of his time. He revised the text of the Vulgate, and wrote commentaries on various parts of the Bible, including Genesis, the Psalms, the Song of Songs, John's Gospel and the Hebrews. He made great use of the Fathers, and subordinated the literal to the allegorical sense. His works on theology include contributions to

¹ *Vide* Thatcher and M'Neal, *Source Book for Mediæval History*, p. 52.

dogmatics, ethics, liturgics, and hagiography. His treatise on the Trinity 'contains the germs of the later scholastic theology.'¹ Three hundred of his letters are extant, and also hymns, epigrams and other forms of verse.

Two years after the retirement of Alcuin from the school of the palace, the headship was given to *Clement of Ireland*, who came to the court of Charlemagne from an Irish monastery in company with *Dungal*, another noted scholar. Clement continued in charge of the school under the son of Charlemagne, Louis the Pious. A monk of St. Gall writes in the ninth century :

'Two Scots from Ireland lighted with British merchants on the coast of Gaul, men learned without compare as well in secular as in sacred writing. . . . (Charlemagne) enjoined the one named Clement to abide in Gaul; to whom he entrusted youths of the most noble, middle and lowest ranks, in goodly number. . . . The other he despatched into Italy, and appointed him the monastery of St. Austin beside the Ticinian city, that there such as were willing to learn might gather unto him.'²

In 804, the year of Alcuin's death, Charlemagne opened at Osnabrück a school for training in the Greek language and literature, which was influential in promoting higher education among the clergy.

2. *Alcuin revived the monastic school of Tours, and his great pupil Rabanus Maurus carried his principles and methods into Germany. The pupils of Rabanus, teaching in various monasteries in Northern and Western Europe, greatly enhanced theological education.*

Under the care of Alcuin the monastery of Tours became a great centre of scholarship. To his monks were distributed 'the honey of the sacred writings,' 'the wine of ancient learning,' and 'the apples of grammatical subtlety.'³ Students flocked to him from all parts, and

¹ *Vide* Hahn, 'Alcuin,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, pp. 16 seq.

³ *Vide* Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, pp. 112 seq.

the Anglo-Saxons came in such numbers that a native monk is said to have cried: 'They swarm hither like bees to their hive.' Alcuin introduced a reform in the Scriptorium, saying: 'Better than the digging of vines is the penning of books.' His school became noted for the clearness of its script, and the *Caroline Minuscule* was 'accepted as the standard in the imperial schools.'¹

The greatest scholar among the pupils of Alcuin at Tours was *Rabanus Maurus* († 856), *Primus Germanicæ Praeceptor*. He was born at Mainz in 776, and was trained in the liberal arts and theology in the monasteries of Fulda and Tours. He became a favourite of Alcuin, who gave him the surname of Maurus, the chief assistant of Benedict, implying thereby that he regarded Rabanus as his own chief successor, which indeed he became. In the year that Alcuin died Rabanus returned to Fulda. He became its most famous teacher, attracting students from all parts. Princes and nobles were trained in his school, as well as monks and clerics, and no applicant was rejected on the ground of poverty. When the Council of Aachen (817) closed the doors of the monastic schools to all save the *oblati*, a second school was opened at Fulda to provide for the 'seculars,' and this example was followed in other monasteries. Special attention was given to the training of preachers and teachers, and many of the students of Fulda were called to positions of power. In the year 822 Rabanus was chosen abbot. At that time Fulda was mother-house to sixteen lesser monasteries. Rabanus added six to the number, so that his rule extended over twenty-two institutions. He undertook to build up the library at Fulda, and it prospered greatly under his care. Like Alcuin, he saw the importance of multiplying manuscripts, and twelve monks were regularly employed in the Scriptorium. After nearly forty years of service, including a rule of twenty

¹ *Vide* Putnam, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages*, i. p. 107.

years as abbot, Rabanus retired from Fulda to compose his encyclopædia *De Universo*, based on the theological part of Isidore's work. Five years later he was made archbishop of Mainz. He took a leading part in the synods held there in 847, 848, and 852. In the controversy over predestination he opposed Gotteschalk; in the eucharistic controversy he opposed Radbertus. His writings cover a wide range. From the point of view of education the most important is his treatise *De institutione clericorum*, which was based on Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, and Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*. Rabanus follows Alcuin in recommending the study of dialectic to students of theology. It is the *disciplina disciplinarum*. It teaches how to teach, how to discriminate, how to know and to make others know. 'It behoves the clergy to acquaint themselves with this most noble art.' Rabanus strongly emphasises the importance of the study of the Scriptures, and like Alcuin makes great use of the Fathers in their exposition. He wrote commentaries on many of the books of the Bible and the Apocrypha, and thus describes the principles of Biblical exegesis :

'If any one would master the Scriptures, he must first of all diligently find out the amount of history, allegory, anagoge and trope there may be in the part under consideration. For there are four senses to the Scriptures, the historical, the allegorical, the tropological and the anagogical, which we call the daughters of Wisdom. Through these Wisdom feeds her children. To those who are young and beginning to learn she gives the milk of *history*; to those advancing in the faith the bread of *allegory*; those who are truly and constantly doing good, so that they abound therein, she satisfies with the savoury repast of *tropology*; while, finally, those who despise earthly things and ardently desire the heavenly she fills to the full with the wine of *anagoge*.'¹

The writings of Rabanus include works on ethics, martyrology, Church discipline, chronology and grammar,

¹ *Vide* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, vol. iv. p. 719.

sermons, letters and verse of various kinds. Some of his hymns are contained in the Breviary, and to him is ascribed the great pentecostal hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

The chief pupil of Rabanus was *Walafrid Strabo* (809-849). He studied for a time at the monastery of Reichenau on Lake Constance, and then for several years at Fulda. He was subsequently chosen abbot of Reichenau, which he made a centre of theological scholarship. He was the originator of the brief commentaries on the Scripture known as *Glossa Ordinaria*. He also made contributions to liturgics and Christian archæology and biography, and wrote verse, of unusual merit, including *The Vision of Wettin*, 'an early precursor of Dante's *Divina Commedia*'.¹

Another noted scholar of Fulda was *Servatus Lupus* (805-862), who studied with Rabanus for six years. He was trained at the monastery of Ferrières before going to Fulda, and returned there to serve first as teacher and then as abbot. He was a literary man as well as a theologian, and a lover of wisdom for its own sake. He had a passion for books, and sought them far and wide, for his own use and for the library of his monastery. He was prominent in several councils, including those of Verneuil (843) and Soissons (853), and he corresponded with most of the great men of his day, one hundred and thirty of his letters being still extant. His works include a treatise on predestination, *Liber de tribus quæstionibus*, and also several lives of saints.

Among the famous pupils of Rabanus was *Rudolphus*, his successor in the school of Fulda, who was noted as a preacher and historian. The work of Einhard, *Annales Fuldenses*, was continued by him.

The monastery of Corbie, Picardy, was for many years in charge of the brothers Adalhard and Wala,

¹ *Vide Sandys, History of Classical Scholarship*, i. p. 485.

the cousins of Charlemagne, and Alcuin's pupils in the palace school. Among the scholars of Corbie was *Paschasius Radbertus* (c. 786-865), a man noted for piety and learning. He taught in his monastery with great success, and many of his pupils became famous. In 844 he was made abbot, but seven years later he resigned his office and devoted the rest of his life to study. He was active at the Councils of Paris (846) and Quiercy (849). Great discussion was excited by a treatise of Radbertus, in which he expressed a gross view of the Eucharist; but no dogmatic decision resulted at that time. His views were opposed by an anonymous writing, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, usually attributed to *Ratramnus*, himself a monk of Corbie; but by the Synod of Vercelli (1050) to John Scottus Erigena, who agreed with it in any case. Radbertus also wrote on the Virgin Birth and the Christian virtues, on Matthew and Lamentations, on the lives of Adalhard and Wala, and lesser works.

3. In the reign of Louis the Pious the line was drawn strictly between the monastic and the cathedral schools. The latter were promoted by the bishops in their several dioceses to vie with the monastic and palace schools in learning.

A capitulary of the year 817 decreed that monastic schools were thereafter to be confined to monks, and that the secular clergy were to be educated at the episcopal schools under a *scholasticus* appointed by the bishops. These episcopal schools were very ancient, indeed the most ancient of all the Christian schools; but in France they now began to multiply, and became more vigorous and efficient.

In 822 Louis published a capitulary calling for an increase in the number and efficiency of the Church schools, that there might be a suitable place and properly

qualified teachers for the training of every aspirant to clerical rank, young or old. The following year he recalled to the bishops their promise to provide a sufficient number of such schools. In 824 a council in Paris urged this duty upon every bishop.¹ The most important cathedral schools of the ninth century were those at Rheims and Orléans.

Theodulphus, bishop of Orléans († 821), followed Alcuin, and nobly supported Charlemagne in the work of educational reform. About ten years after the publication of Charlemagne's famous capitulary, Theodulphus sent to his clergy one of his own, providing free schools for 'the children of the faithful in every town and village,' and recommending study as 'a means whereby the life of the righteous is nourished, and ennobled, and the man himself fortified against temptation.'² Under Theodulphus and his helper Wulfin the school of Orléans flourished. It became specially noted for the work of transcription, and the manuscripts copied there were models of skill and accuracy. Theodulphus himself was a scholar of exceptional attainments. Charlemagne called upon him for an account of the ceremonies of baptism, and also for a collection of sayings from the Fathers in support of the doctrine of the *filioque*. His didactic poems were famous, and his great hymn, *Gloria, laus et honor tibi*, was sung in France on Palm Sunday up to the time of the Revolution.

The cathedral school at Rheims was for many years under the supervision of *Hincmar* († 882). He became archbishop of Rheims in 845, and used his great authority to advance the cause of learning, enriching the libraries of Rheims, and calling upon his clergy to build up the schools of the diocese.

¹ *Vide* Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'Occident*, 1866, pp. 24 seq.

² *Vide* Mullinger, *Schools of Charles the Great*, p. 103.

Lyons and Turin were also important centres of learning at this period. *Agobard*, archbishop of Lyons (779-840), was probably born in Spain and educated at Lyons. He was widely influential as a polemic divine, and wrote against Adoptionism, verbal inspiration, image worship and popular superstitions. Of special interest are his works, *De dispensatione ecclesiasticarum rerum*, and *Comparatio utriusque regiminis ecclesiastici et politici*.

Claudius, bishop of Turin († 832), was born also in Spain, and became a pupil of *Felix of Urgel*, but did not imbibe Adoptionism from his master. Like *Agobard*, he opposed image worship, and other customs tending toward superstition. He wrote commentaries on many of the books of the Bible, chiefly in the form of *catenæ*. He was suspected of Nestorianism.

4. *An effort was made in the second quarter of the ninth century to organise public schools of a higher order under the patronage of the crown, but the plan failed because of wars.*

In 829 an assembly of the bishops at Paris petitioned the emperor, *Louis the Pious*, to establish three large public schools to which seculars and regulars alike might resort. These were to be higher or graduate schools. This proposal was made about three centuries before the universities of Europe were established. But war and the division of the empire prevented the carrying out of the plan.

5. *In Italy nine public schools were established in the chief cities of the North, under the influence of Irish monks, and of Charlemagne. Two Roman councils ordained that every bishopric should have its school in which the Scriptures should be taught.*

During the seventh and eighth centuries theological as well as classical education met with varied fortunes in Italy, owing to frequent wars and invasions. But in the

ninth century there was a revival of learning. In 823 Lothair I. made a decree establishing central schools in nine important cities: Pavia, Ivrea, Turin, Cremona, Florence, Fermo, Verona, Vicenza, and Friuli. The head of the school at Pavia was an Irishman named *Dungal*, probably the same as the companion of Clement at the court of Charlemagne.¹ Doubtless Lothair was stimulated to the organisation of these schools by the influence of his grandfather Charlemagne, whose own teachers had come from the north of Italy.

Provision for episcopal schools was made by a Roman council under Eugene II. (825), which ordained that every see should have its bishop's school. This decree was emphasised by a later council under Leo IV. (850), which also required the appointment in every diocese of teachers to interpret the Scriptures.

6. Erigena was made head of the palace school in 845. He used the dialectic method in the study of theology, translated into Latin 'Dionysius the Areopagite,' and made much use of the Greek Fathers.

The older monastic education of Ireland again made its influence felt in France at the court of Charles the Bold, grandson of Charlemagne, through *Johannes Scottus*, also called *Erigena* (c. 815-875). Greek was still taught in the Irish schools, and Erigena was a Greek scholar. He translated 'Dionysius the Areopagite' into Latin, and thus introduced this famous work of Neo-Platonism to the West. Anastasius, the papal librarian, wondered how 'this barbarian living on the confines of the world, who might have been deemed to be as ignorant of Greek as he was remote from civilisation, could have proved capable of comprehending such mysteries and translating them into another tongue.'² Erigena was a student of

¹ *Vide* p. 4.

² *Vide* Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, p. 492.

Origen and the great Cappadocians, and through him their influence also was revived in the Western Church. In exegesis he made use of the allegorical method ; but in argument he appealed to the reason, using the dialectic method instead of the traditional citation of authorities in the Positive Theology. An example of this is his treatise *De divina prædestinatione*, written against the high-Augustinian Gotteschalk. Erigena also appealed to the Greek rather than to the Latin Fathers. These unfamiliar methods brought him into trouble with the Latin theologians of his time. His great work is *De divisione naturæ*. He claims for theology and philosophy a common source—the divine Wisdom.

7. Alfred the Great, of England, encouraged the study of theology by his patronage and his own translations.

Alfred († 901) was a studious youth and a scholarly king. He revived the study of theology in England, and himself undertook the work of translation. He founded new monasteries at Winchester and Athelney, and assembled learned men from all parts to teach in his schools. He also established a school at his court for the training of the sons of nobles and officials, after the model of the school of Charlemagne. He and his helpers translated Boëthius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Universal History* of Orosius, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Bede, Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and Augustine's *Soliloquies*.

8. In the middle of the ninth century appeared for the first time the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, which, in connection with the Donation of Constantine, greatly influenced the development of Canon Law.

They are summarily described by Gieseler :

‘These decretals consisted of admonitions, instructions, and regulations, compiled for the most part from existing ecclesiastical literature. But they are of historical importance only in

consequence of the new principles of ecclesiastical law by which, developing a tendency that had arisen already in the Church amid the weakness and disunion of worldly power, they were meant to make the Church independent of the State, and to give it a self-dependent centre of protection in the Roman see. Exaltation of the episcopal dignity; numerous definitions for the purpose of securing the clergy, and in particular the bishops, against attacks; limitation of the metropolitans, who were often very much dependent upon the civil power; elevation of the primates to be the first instruments of the popes; and in particular, an enlargement of the privileges of the Roman see; these form the chief ecclesiastical and legal contents of the *Pseudo-Isidoriana*.¹

These decretals were issued under a pseudonym to support the bishops in their conflicts with the metropolitans in France. They were used by the popes, and in canon law, from the time of Nicolaus I. (864) onward to the Reformation, when they were shown to be without real authority. They originated in eastern France according to some scholars,² in western France according to others. Müller³ suggests Rheims; Loofs⁴ and Lesne,⁵ either Rheims or Le Mans; Febronius, Theiner, and others, Rome.⁶ There is the same uncertainty as to the date. Müller proposes 851-2, Loofs 847-853, Lesne 847-852. Many give an earlier date. Alexander Natalis, Mabillon and others assign them to the time of Charlemagne; Febronius to 744; Theiner to the years 774-785; Eichhorn to the eighth century;⁷ but these earlier dates are improbable.

The *Donation of Constantine* was composed in Rome at a much earlier time, in the middle of the eighth century.

¹ *Vide* Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, ii. pp. 110 *seq.*

² So Gieseler, following Blondel, Ballerini, Spittler, and Planck.

³ Karl Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, i. p. 365.

⁴ Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 68.

⁵ Lesne, *La hiérarchie épiscopale, provinces, métropolitains, primats en Gaule et Germanie*, pp. 186 *seq.*

⁶ *Vide* Gieseler, ii. p. 114, n. 11.

⁷ *Vide* Gieseler, *ibid.*

9. *The tenth century was a time of destructive invasions by barbarians. Nevertheless the monastery of Cluny was founded, and produced many famous scholars. In Germany scholarship revived under the influence of Bruno. The greatest theologian of this age was Gerbert, a prodigy of learning, who also had distinguished pupils.*

During the latter half of the ninth and the whole of the tenth century everything in Europe was in confusion, owing to the constant struggles with heathen invaders, who destroyed cities and monasteries, burned books, and killed or took captive monks and scholars. England was overrun by the Danes; western France by the Normans; Germany, the east and south of France, and northern Italy by the Hungarians. These laid waste the monasteries of St. Gall in Switzerland, and of Fulda in Germany. South and West Italy, Spain, and southern France were in constant peril from the Saracens, who sacked Rome in 846. And yet even in this dark period new institutions of learning were founded, especially in France and Germany.

In the year 910 William, Duke of Aquitaine, founded the monastery of Cluny, in the diocese of Mâcon, with *Berno* as its first abbot († 927). Under his successor *Odo* († 941) it became a great seat of learning, from which as a centre the influence of reform pervaded the schools at Metz, Rheims, Liége and Paris, and spread even to other lands. *Odo* was trained in the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, and afterwards studied the Trivium and Quadrivium in Paris with *Remi* of Auxerre.

Gerbert (950-1003), a monk of Aurillac, was trained in that monastery under *Raimund*, a pupil of *Odo* at Cluny. He was sent to Barcelona, Spain, and there devoted himself to study, especially to mathematics, astronomy, and music. On his return to France he taught in the schools of Tours, Fleury, Sens, and Rheims. In the latter school he acquired a reputation for extraordinary learning.

The range of his studies included medicine, which gave rise to the suspicion that he practised the magic arts. This did not prevent his rapid advancement in the Church ; and he became in succession abbot of Bobbio, archbishop of Rheims, archbishop of Ravenna, and finally pope (999), under the name of *Silvester II.*

Gerbert had many distinguished pupils, among whom may be mentioned *Richer of Rheims*, the historian († 1010), and *Fulbert of Chartres*,¹ the founder of that famous school. But of all the pupils of Cluny or its scholars, the most illustrious was *Hildebrand*, who, as *Gregory VII.*, became the greatest of the mediæval popes.²

In Germany the cause of learning was upheld by *Bruno* (925-965), son of Henry the Fowler and brother of Otto the Great. He was educated at Utrecht, and was entrusted by Otto with the building up of the *schola palatina*. In 940 he was made chancellor, in 951 *archicapellanus*, and two years later archbishop of Cologne. He is said to have 'restored the long ruined fabric of the seven liberal arts.' Wherever he went, he carried with him his library, 'as if it had been the ark of the Lord.' Poole likens him to Alfred of England, and ascribes to his influence the fact that 'the clergy of Germany became marked out from the rest of Christendom no less by their education than by its fruit, their moral excellence.' Poole cites Arnulf of Orléans as saying 'in his famous speech before the Council of St. Basol, near Rheims (991) : " *In Belgica et Germania . . . summos sacerdotes dei religione admodum præstantes inveniri.*" '³

10. During the Middle Ages there was much less intellectual activity in the Greek Church than in the Latin.

¹ *Vide* pp. 24 f.

² *Vide* pp. 17 f.

³ *Vide* Poole, *Medieval Thought*, pp. 86 seq.

In the ninth and tenth centuries the only great writers were Photius and Suidas.

Photius (c. 820-897), patriarch of Constantinople, led the Greeks in their dispute with the Latin Church over the *filioque*. He was a voluminous writer of encyclopædic learning, and is called the greatest scholar of his time. His chief works on theology are: his *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblon*, which describes two hundred and eighty books in as many chapters; and his *Amphilochia*, which gives answers to three hundred questions, chiefly relating to the Scriptures. He also wrote a lexicon, commentaries, a treatise on the Holy Spirit, a polemic against the Paulicians, letters, poems and other minor works. Many of his writings are extant in fragments only; others have been lost altogether.

Suidas is known only through his lexicon (c. 976), a work of great learning and permanent value, which has some of the features of an encyclopædia.

The only other writers worthy of mention are: *Œcumenius*, the exegete († 999), *Simeon Metaphrastes*, the hagiographer (c. 900), and the minor historians *Nicephorus* († 829) and *Theophanes* († c. 817), belonging to the Constantinopolitan school.¹ This age, however, produced some of the greatest hymns of the Greek Church.

¹ *Vide* pp. 38 f.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

THE tenth century had been a time of terrible disaster, of corruption in morals and disorders of every kind, all calling for reform. The eleventh century was a time of revival. The second period of the Middle Ages properly begins in the midst of this century, when the Hildebrandian reforms began.

1. Hildebrand, a scholar of Cluny, of extraordinary ability in theology and law, became the great reformer of the Church of the eleventh century, whose influence has remained through all the subsequent times.

Hildebrand (c. 1020-1085) was born in Tuscany, and received his education in Rome. He entered a Benedictine monastery on the Aventine, which was under the reforming influence of Cluny, and 'the home of its abbots on their pilgrimages to Rome.'¹ It is said that Hildebrand spent some time at Cluny during his student years. He became the disciple and assistant of Gregory VI., accompanying him on his journeys. On the death of that pope Hildebrand retired to Cluny. In 1049 he was called to Rome as companion of Bruno, who was received there with acclamation as Pope Leo IX. Hildebrand now became a man of affairs. He had doubtless been trained in law, though where is not known. He now took up the

¹ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, v., Pt. i. p. 11.

work of reform begun at the Synod of Sutri (1046), and carried it on during the pontificates of Leo IX. and his successors. He himself became pope in 1073, as Gregory VII. At his election he was declared to be 'a man eminent in piety and learning, a lover of equity and justice, . . . well brought up and educated in the bosom of this mother church.'¹ In 1075 he wrote to Hugh of Cluny, in great distress, mourning the evils that existed in the Church :

'The Eastern Church, fallen from the faith, and attacked from without by the infidels. In the West, South or North, scarcely any bishops who have obtained their office regularly, or whose life and conduct correspond to their calling, and who are actuated by the love of Christ instead of worldly ambition. . . . And when I look to myself, I feel oppressed by such a burden of sin, that no other hope of salvation is left me but in the mercy of Christ alone.'²

As pope Hildebrand laboured for twelve, as reformer for six-and-thirty years. He transformed the papacy and the entire priesthood and hierarchy, after monastic models. Of the three vows of the regulars, enforcing chastity, obedience and poverty, two were extended by him to the secular clergy as well. There could be no more married priests, and the law of obedience of the seculars must be as strict as that of the regulars.

Gregory thereby accomplished two great reforms : he overcame simony and concubinage for a time among the clergy ; and he emancipated the Church from the dominion of the state. But he erred in straining the authority of the pope, so as to extend it beyond faith and morals into civil and social affairs, which belong to the state. He even went so far as to depose an emperor, and to put whole nations under the ban.

2. *In the eleventh century there was a great revival in the Benedictine order ; and many new monasteries were*

¹ *Vide* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, v., Pt. i. p. 25.

² *Ep.* ii. 49, as quoted by Schaff, *ibid.*, p. 28.

established, the chief of which was that of Bec, in Normandy, out of which came Lanfranc and Anselm.

The Benedictine order gave birth in the eleventh century to several new forms, which perpetuated themselves in the different countries. The most important of these were established : (1) at Camaldoli in the Apennines (1012), where Romuald of Ravenna founded the Camaldolites ; (2) at Vallombrosa, near Florence (1038), where Gualbert founded the Vallombrosans ; (3) at Grenoble, in France (1084), where Bruno founded the Carthusian order, which laid great stress on the gathering and transcribing of books ; (4) at Citeaux, in France (1098), where Robert Cluniac founded the Cistercians, the order of St. Bernard.

Bruno († 1101) was trained at the cathedral school of Rheims, and taught there as *scholasticus* for some twenty years. According to Maître,¹ he lectured on the liberal arts and theology with such distinction that the whole of France resounded with the triumph of 'the doctor of doctors,' and associated his name with those of Lanfranc and Anselm.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), the great mystic, built up the Cistercian order, and was one of the most influential teachers and preachers of the Mediæval Church. He is said by his friend, John of Salisbury, to have known 'little of secular letters' ; yet he was 'a man mighty in work and speech before God, as it is believed, and before men, as is well known.'² William of St. Thierry († 1149) wrote : 'I tarried with him a few days... and whichever way I turned my eyes, I marvelled, and thought I saw a new heaven and a new earth.... One could feel that God was in the place.'³ Bernard was remarkable for his knowledge of the Scriptures, and was revered

¹ *Vide* Maître, *Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques*, p. 105.

² *Vide* Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 189.

³ *Vita prima*, i. 7 ; *vide* Migne, clxxxii.

in his lifetime as a saint and a prophet. His writings include dogmatic, mystic, polemic, ascetic and practical treatises, also many valuable letters, sermons, and hymns. Calvin says : 'In his *De consideratione* Bernard speaks as though the very truth itself were speaking.' Luther deems him 'superior in his sermons to all the doctors, even to Augustine.'¹

The monastery of Bec was founded in Normandy, near the mouth of the Seine (c. 1034), by St. Herluin, and became the most famous monastic school of France in the eleventh century. Lanfranc (c. 1042) and Anselm (c. 1060) studied there : both ruled as prior, and Anselm as abbot (1078-1093). These distinguished scholars were both Lombards, and had studied in Italy before going to Bec. Lanfranc († 1089) had studied law as well as the liberal arts at Pavia, according to the statement of his early biographer;² and it is probable that he introduced the study of law at Bec. It is related of Lanfranc that, when he visited Alexander II., the pope rose to meet him, saying that he did so 'not because he is archbishop of Canterbury, but because I was in his school at Bec, and sat at his feet with his other pupils.'³

Anselm († 1109) left family and fortune to attach himself to Lanfranc, whose fame filled the West. He replaced his master, first at Bec and then at Canterbury ; and far surpassed him as a theologian. He has been called a 'second Augustine' and 'the last of the fathers.'⁴ His influence was perpetuated by his pupil, Anselm of Laon, who counted among his hearers all the learned scholars of the twelfth century. The greater number of the pupils of Bec succeeded to positions in which they were able to exercise a powerful influence

¹ *Vide* Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 344 n. 2, 351.

² Milo Crispin, *Vita Lanfranci*, I. v. ; *vide* Migne, *P.L.*, cl. 29, 39.

³ *Vita Lanfranci*, ap. Migne, *P.L.*, cl. 19 ; Maître, *Les Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques*, p. 124.

⁴ *Vide* Poole, *Medieval Thought*, p. 104.

on theological education. In England especially the scholars of Bec were in demand.¹

3. Lanfranc and Anselm became the centres of two great theological debates, namely, those on the Eucharist and the Atonement.

The eucharistic controversy was a revival of the milder one of the ninth century, which raged for a while about Paschasius Radbertus, Ratramnus, and John Scottus Erigena, but did not then result in a dogmatic definition. In 1050 *Berengar of Tours* wrote a letter to Lanfranc, then prior of Bec, sustaining (as he thought) Erigena's views, but really going to the length of heresy in his conception of the Eucharist as symbolic. He was condemned under the influence of Lanfranc, first at Rome and Vercelli (1050), then at Florence (1055) and Rome (1059), and finally in two councils held at Rome (1078-1079), under Gregory VII., when he was compelled to subscribe a profession of faith defining the church doctrine of the Eucharist.² The doctrine as defined was : (a) that the body of Christ is really present in the Eucharist ; (b) that it is the identical body that was crucified, rose from the dead, and is enthroned in heaven ; (c) that the substance of the bread and wine is converted into the substance of the body of Christ ; (d) that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, representing the sacrifice of Christ.³

Anselm was the greatest theologian of his time. He made less use of the principle of authority than his predecessors, even Lanfranc, and made great use of reason and logic in the discussion of Christian doctrine. This was especially so in his great works, the *Monologium* and the *Proslogium*, notably in *Cur deus homo?*, in

¹ *Vide Maître, Les Écoles épiscopales et monastiques*, p. 125.

² *Vide Denzinger, Enchiridion Symbolorum et Definitionum*, p. 105.

³ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 182 seq.

which he lays the foundation for the doctrine of the Atonement for all time. But as this did not provoke serious discussion, it did not occasion a definition by the Church. His doctrine was that the Incarnation was a voluntary act of the Son of God ; in order that He might, by the death of the Cross, satisfy the divine majesty and merit the divine grace for the sinful world. Sin was an offence against the divine majesty according to the feudal conception, and it involved the extreme penalty of death. The sinner must suffer death or render adequate satisfaction. Only the Son of God could do this by rendering infinite satisfaction and earning infinite merit. The older undogmatic view, still represented by Bernard, was that the devil had a claim on the sinner, and his claim was satisfied by the death of Christ on the Cross.¹

4. In the eleventh century the cathedral schools became prominent, especially those of Laon, Chartres, and Paris.

1. The school of Laon became celebrated through two brothers, *Anselm* († 1117) and *Ralph* († 1138), who attracted students from great distances, from Milan in the south and from Bremen in the north. Many came over from England. These men were the teachers of *William of Champeaux*, *Abélard*, *Alberic of Rheims*, *Gilbert de la Porrée*, and many other notable scholars. After the death of Ralph the school lost its importance. Anselm studied at *Bec*, and 'laid the foundation of his reputation' at Paris, where he taught theology (c. 1076). He was made *scholasticus* of the cathedral school at Laon (c. 1089) ; and he and his brother became 'the two eyes' of that church.² John of *Salisbury* calls them the 'most splendid luminaries of Gaul, the glory of Laon,

¹ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 137 seq.

² *Guibert de Nogent*, cited by *Feret*, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris au moyen âge*, i. p. 26.

whose memory is in pleasantness and blessing.¹ Anselm's theology has been described as 'properly only a simple and solid exposition of the Holy Scripture, supported by the authority of the holy fathers, whom he studied all his life.' Guibert de Nogent says that he 'made more good Catholics than the heterodox (teachers) of his time made heretics, "tam sincera est in Scripturarum ac fidei assertione severitas."² He was 'the light of all France and of the Latin Church.' John of Salisbury calls him 'doctorum doctorem.' Pope Eugene III. said: 'God caused him to be born so that the Holy Scriptures might not perish.'³ Anselm, indeed, is especially distinguished in the history of Biblical Exegesis for his *Glossa interlinearis*, which continued to be used all through the Middle Ages. He also wrote special commentaries on the Song of Songs, Matthew, and Revelation. Abélard said of Anselm: 'He kindled a fire, not to give light, but to fill the house with smoke.'⁴ But Crévier's comment is:

'It is hard to restrain one's indignation, at beholding thus treated a man who, for the forty years during which he taught theology, was regarded . . . as the light and the oracle of the Latin Church; who was called the "doctor of doctors," and in whose school were trained the great theologians, scholars, and pious prelates, who gave lustre not only to France, but to England, Germany, and Italy.'⁴

The school of Laon, as Poole remarks,⁵ 'acquired a peculiar and almost unique name for the steadfast fidelity with which it maintained and handed on the pure theological tradition of the Church'; and while this reputation may have been 'apart from the personal weight of (these) teachers,' it was doubtless the result of their labours.

¹ *Vide* Poole, *Hist. of Medieval Thought*, p. 112.

² Cited by Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, i. pp. 27, 28.

³ Abélard, *Ep.* i. 3; *vide* Poole, *Hist. of Medieval Thought*, p. 144; Feret, *La Faculté de Théologie de Paris*, i. p. 27.

⁴ Crévier, *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris*, i. pp. 124 seq.

⁵ Poole, *Hist. of Medieval Thought*, pp. 111 seq.

2. The school of Chartres gained its importance from Fulbert, a pupil of Gerbert, and from Ivo, a pupil of Lanfranc. *Fulbert* († 1028) like Gerbert added medicine to theology, philosophy, and the liberal arts; and Chartres soon took rank with Rheims as a seat of the higher learning. In 1006 Fulbert was made bishop; but he continued to teach in the school, following what seems to have been the traditional usage of the see, whose bishops in the sixth, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth centuries are known to have presided in the school.¹ Fulbert was still young when he began to teach at Chartres; and he presided there as bishop for considerably over twenty-one years. In that time multitudes came under his influence. An English monk of the following century writes:

‘The town of Chartres, even in our time, is full of the genius of Fulbert. It is second to no other in Gaul in the number and the learning of its scholars.’²

The bond which united Fulbert to his pupils, and these to one another, was very strong. Adelmann, *scholasticus* of Liège, recalls with pleasure his life as a student ‘sub nostro illo venerabili Socrate.’³ He describes himself to Fulbert as ‘vernaculus tuus,’ ‘alumnus tuus.’ ‘To others,’ he cries, ‘I have shown something of myself, but to you I have disclosed the whole.’ At Fulbert’s death he wrote: ‘I was his companion; I was often by his side; I drank with avidity the words of gold, sweet as honey, that fell from his lips.’ Hildegaire, another pupil, seeking pardon for having given way to anger in his presence, wrote: ‘I implore you not to refuse me the boon of your counsel and your correction. The greatest of misfortunes for me would be to be abandoned

¹ *Vide* Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen âge, du V^e au XVI^e siècle*, pp. 29 seq.

² Cited by Clerval, *ibid.*, p. 96.

³ *Vide* Maitre, *Les Ecoles épisc. et monast.*, p. 103.

by you.' The same pupil compares himself to the hart ' panting for the water-brooks ' in his longing for the teaching of his master, ' more precious than gold or silver, than life itself.' At Fulbert's death his scholars wrote in his epitaph :

' He is dead, dear to God and to man, our Father of precious memory, Fulbert, bishop of this holy see. He was a conspicuous luminary, given to the world by God, . . . a man most eloquent and versed in the divine sciences and in the books of the liberal arts. . . . He has made this church illustrious with the rays of his sanctity and his learning, and has wrought great things for his students.'¹

William of Malmesbury describes him as 'most eminent in holiness and philosophy.' Clerval remarks that he was acquainted with Hebrew, and cites the Septuagint; and that 'if he did not know the Greek fathers, he was familiar with the Latin.'² In exegesis he avoided excess in the use of both the allegorical and the critical methods, basing his interpretation on the literal and historical sense, and having recourse for that purpose to the original text. Once possessed of the literal meaning he passed on to its moral and spiritual application. His theology, like that of Anselm of Laon, was Positive Theology. Fulbert also appeals to codes of canon law and to Charlemagne's Capitularies. He 'cites numerous councils, both ancient and modern.' Clerval suggests that there was at Chartres some study of law. Among the pupils of Fulbert was the famous *Berengarius* († 1088), who became *scholasticus* at Tours and archdeacon of Angers, and who reintroduced the eucharistic controversy.³

The school of Chartres gained new distinction under *Ivo*, or St. Ives († 1116), the most famous teacher of canon law of his times. He is described as 'a religious

¹ Cited by Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres*, pp. 32, 101 *seq.*

² *Vide* Clerval, *ibid.*, pp. 36 *seq.*, 130 *seq.*, 141 *seq.*

³ *Vide* p. 21.

man and of great learning.' In his youth he had studied in Paris, and had 'heard master Lanfranc, prior of Bec, treat of secular and divine letters in that famous school which he had at Bec.'¹ Anselm was his fellow-student there. He became himself a teacher in that school, and then went as abbot to St. Quentin, which he made illustrious as a centre of learning. To theology and the liberal arts he added the study of canon law, and probably began here his great collections of Canons known as the *Collectio tripartita*, *Decretum*, and *Panormia*. Ivo had already attained to great fame as a teacher, when he was made bishop of Chartres (c. 1090). He is the last bishop of that see who is known to have taught in the school ; but shortly after his death it rose once more into prominence, and so remained until the middle of the twelfth century, under the brothers Theodoric and Bernard, and their pupils Gilbert de la Porrée, William of Conches, and Richard l'Évêque.

Bernard of Chartres († c. 1130) became chancellor c. 1119. He was called by John of Salisbury *perfectissimus inter Platonicos seculi nostri*. He was wont to say :

'We are as dwarfs mounted on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more and further than they ; yet not by virtue of the keenness of our eyesight, nor through the tallness of our stature, but because we are raised and borne aloft upon that giant mass.'²

Poole remarks : 'In this reverent dependence on the ancients lies therefore the main peculiarity of the school of Chartres.' He adds : 'It is the choice of reading that stands out as the salient characteristic of Bernard's method, and marks it as aiming at a totally different level of excellence from that which had hitherto been deemed sufficient.'³ Among his many noted pupils

¹ *Vide* Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 114.

² John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, iv. 35 ; iii. 4.

³ Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, pp. 117, 120.

Gilbert de la Porrée was the most distinguished, and succeeded him as chancellor in 1126. He was devotedly attached to Bernard, and wrote to him from Aquitaine where he 'kept school' :

'I have one sorrow, only one, which tortures me. It is that I am constrained to remain far from the presence of a teacher so illustrious. . . . I would fain be with you always, when you explain the mysteries hidden in the treasures of knowledge. I would draw with all my might upon the limpid and inexhaustible source of your wisdom. Separated in body from your Excellence, I am united to you by ardour of desire and by the heart, which brings near what is far; and all that God has given or will give to me, by way of endowment, virtue, knowledge, all that I am—after God I owe it to you.'¹

Gilbert was called away to Paris; and two other pupils of Bernard carried on his work in the school, William of Conches and Richard l'Évêque. *William* († c. 1154) was 'post Bernardum Carnotensem opulentissimus grammaticus.'²

'With him, as with Bernard, . . . grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric . . . are the first things which the philosopher must possess: "with them equipped as with arms, we ought to approach the study of philosophy," first as learned in the sciences of the *Quadrivium*, and finally in Theology. . . . But the basis of the whole is grammar: "in omni doctrina grammatica praecedit." This is the mark of the school of Chartres.'³

Richard l'Évêque united with William in 'perpetuating the teaching of Bernard, and thus carried on a sound and healthy tradition. . . . The general method of the school was founded on the scheme of education laid down by Quintilian.'⁴ Clerval says that Chartres was the centre of a universal renaissance of learning, showing a love for profane antiquity and a passion for its writers, its poets and philosophers. Greedy for knowledge, this school

¹ *Vide* Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen âge*, p. 219.

² John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, i. 5; *vide* Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres au moyen âge*, p. 181.

³ Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 125. ⁴ Sandys, i. p. 539.

searched for the writings of Aristotle, of Ptolemy, and of other Greek authors, even among the Arabs of Spain, and enlarged the circle of culture.¹

Other cathedrals had distinguished scholars. Among these may be mentioned *Hildebert* († 1134), bishop of Le Mans, and later archbishop of Tours. He was noted for his letters, which were 'studied, and even learnt by heart, as patterns of epistolary composition';² and also, still more, as the first Latin writer to compose a system of doctrine. His *Tractatus theologicus* is a Positive Theology, using the Scriptures and the Fathers, and among the latter especially Augustine. But he also uses dialectic, and indulges in a great amount of scholastic speculation.

The work has forty-one chapters and treats of faith and its objects (Chapters i.-iii.), the Trinity (iv.-viii.), prescience, predestination, the will and the omnipotence of God (ix.-xi.), the incarnation and nature of Christ (xii.-xvi.), angels (xvii.-xxii.), the creation (xxiii.-xxv.), human nature, sin and virtue (xxvi.-xxxix.), the sacraments (xl.), the divine Law (xli.).³

There were other chapters, which have not been preserved. Hildebert was the first to use the term *trans-substantiatio*.⁴

3. The cathedral school of Notre Dame at Paris became, in the twelfth century, the most prominent in France, under a number of famous teachers, the first of whom was William of Champeaux. *William* († 1121) studied with the philosopher Manegold, with Anselm of Laon, and with Roscelin. He himself taught at Paris a crowd of students from all parts, at first in the cathedral school, and then (c. 1108) in the monastic school of St. Victor, where his influence was long felt. 'In those

¹ Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres*, p. 272.

² Sandys, i. p. 551.

³ Vide Flügge, *Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, iii. pp. 387 seq.

⁴ Vide Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 303 (*Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*).

days,' as Poole says, 'the school followed the teacher, not the teacher the school.'¹ William taught rhetoric and dialectic as well as theology; and came into conflict with his pupil Abélard as an advocate of Realism. But as a theologian his method was that known as Positive Theology, the Theology of the Fathers. He retained the friendship of St. Bernard, and was even, according to Fisher, 'in some sense (his) guide.'² In 1113 William was called from Paris to become bishop of Châlons. After his departure from the cathedral school students still continued to flock there, and it attained new celebrity under the pupils of William.³

5. The brilliant Abélard taught a multitude of students, attracted by his new method of speculative inquiry, with which he enriched Positive Theology.

Abélard (1079-1142) was for a time a pupil of Roscelin of Compiègne; then, after visiting other schools, he went to Paris to study with William of Champeaux. He came into conflict with this teacher, and overpowered him by a skilful use of dialectic, winning for himself a great reputation. When William retired to the monastery of St. Victor, Abélard sought his class-room there; but the old conflict was soon renewed. In the meanwhile Abélard also had acquired a great body of followers, who went about with him from place to place, 'to Corbeil, to Melun, to Provins, to Saint Denis, and into Brittany.'⁴ At the time that William left Paris for Châlons, Abélard went to Laon to study theology with Anselm; but, professing to find that famous teacher 'a barren fig-tree,' he began a rival course of lectures—a breach of order which led to his expulsion. Returning to Paris he took William's place at the head of the

¹ Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 109.

² Fisher, *History of Christian Doctrine*, p. 226.

³ *Vide* pp. 31 ff.

⁴ Maître, *Les Ecoles épisc. et monast.*, p. 145.

cathedral school. Some years later he entered the monastery of St. Denis, and students flocked to him there also. During his several residences in Paris he greatly increased the renown of that seat of learning, especially when he taught in the school attached to the collegiate church of St. Geneviève. Abélard's methods were speculative and critical. His aim was to seek the truth by inquiry, and not from authority. 'By doubting we are led to inquire ; by inquiry we perceive the truth.'¹ He exposed himself to suspicions of heresy by the boldness of his speculation, his independence of authority, his contests with all other teachers, and his open-minded balancing of opinions over against one another. He took an intermediate position between the Nominalism of Roscelin and the Realism of William, which is known as Conceptualism, and is nearer the position of Aristotle.

'*Universalia ante rem* is the watchword of the Realists ; *Universalia in re* of the Conceptualists ; *Universalia post rem* of the Nominalists.'²

As the Nominalism of Roscelin had brought him into a dilemma between Unitarianism and Tritheism, and caused him to be charged with the latter, so the Conceptualism of Abélard led him in the direction of Sabellianism. His treatise *De unitate et trinitate divina* brought him into trouble. Otto of Freising represents that he was charged with having 'effaced the discrimination of the Three Persons, which the Church held to be not mere names, but distinct things with separate properties.'³ All of his teachers were against him, having been alienated by his audacious and ungenerous criticisms, by his vanity and overbearing manners. A council was called at Soissons (1121), and

¹ Abélard, *Sic et non*, proe. 17 ; *vide* Migne, *P. L.*, clxxviii.

² Fleming, *Vocabulary of Philosophy*, ed. Calderwood, 1887⁴, p. 284.

³ Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 152.

he was condemned ; but the general opinion was that he had been treated unfairly.

A more formidable attack was made upon him by St. Bernard. He had composed an *Introduction to Theology*, understanding by theology the doctrine of God and the Trinity, which alone he discusses. This Introduction is usually regarded as the first attempt to construct a philosophical system of doctrine. The method of Abélard was more objectionable to the traditionalists than his results. Because of his method they suspected and misrepresented his results. St. Bernard, with his immense popularity and eloquence, was a formidable opponent ; and Abélard was once more condemned in 1141 by the Council of Sens. He took refuge with Peter the Venerable at Cluny, and there in the following year he died. It is said that at Cluny he 'read constantly, prayed often, gladly kept silence.'¹ According to Peter's verdict he was 'ever to be named with honour ; the servant of Christ, and verily Christ's philosopher.'² His writings include, besides those already named, his famous *Sic et non*, a work on Ethics called *Scito te ipsum*, a commentary on Romans, *Theologia Christiana*, *Hexameron*, a treatise on Dialectics, and an autobiography, *Historia calamitatum*.

6. *The cathedral school of Paris continued to flourish under the care of distinguished teachers, the most important of whom were Gilbert de la Porrée, Robert Pulleyn, and Peter the Lombard.*

1. *Gilbert* (c. 1070-1154) was born at Poitiers, and studied in the episcopal school there, and afterwards at Chartres, Paris, and Laon. Otto of Freising, his pupil, writes :

'From his youth Gilbert placed himself under the discipline of great teachers, relying more upon their authority than upon

¹ *Vide* article 'Abélard,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

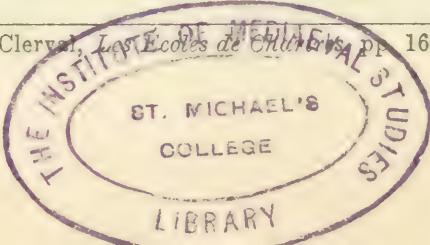
² *Vide* Poole, *History of Medieval Thought*, p. 166.

his own genius. These masters were, first, Hilary of Poitiers, then Bernard of Chartres, finally the two brothers Anselm and Ralph of Laon. With them he acquired not little, but great learning, remaining under their control a long time, bringing his manners and his conduct into harmony with his knowledge.¹

At Paris he studied with William of Champeaux and also with Abélard. He was recalled to Chartres by Bernard, whom he served for a time as assistant and finally succeeded as chancellor. Some years later he went to teach in Paris, and then in Poitiers, where he was made bishop (1142). His chief contributions to theology are (1) commentaries on the Bible in the form of glosses, an elaboration of the *Glossa interlinearis* of his master Anselm of Laon; (2) *De Trinitate*, a work attributed then to Boëthius, but really a collection of several writings on the subject by different persons at different periods. This treatise brought Gilbert into trouble. His tendency was towards Tritheism, although he denied it. Thus Realism had its perils in discussing the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as Nominalism and Conceptualism. Gilbert was attacked by Bernard of Clairvaux in a council held at Paris, 1147. No agreement was reached, and the council, adjourning to Rheims in the following year, became hopelessly divided, so that Gilbert escaped condemnation. It is remarkable that he seems to have retained the respect of his bitterest opponents. One of these is forced to acknowledge that 'though few were for the doctrine, very many were for the man, and did all they could to excuse and extenuate even opinions which they did not hold.' Otto of Freising, Gilbert's pupil, denies that there is any resemblance between his trial and that of Abélard.

'The case was not the same, nor the matter kindred. For Gilbert had from youth submitted himself to the teaching of great men, and trusted in their weight rather than in his own powers.'

¹ Vide Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres*, pp. 163 seq.



John of Salisbury remarks :

'It is certain that a good many things are now handled by scholars in public which, when (Gilbert) put them forward, were reckoned as profane novelties. . . . Gilbert was a man of the clearest intellect, and of the widest reading ; he had spent some sixty years in study and the exercise of literature, and was so ripe in liberal culture as to be surpassed by no one, rather it was believed that in all things he excelled all men.'¹

His work *De sex principiis*, 'a supplement to the *Categories* of Aristotle, was accepted through the Middle Ages as second only in authority to the works of the founder of logic.'² An unknown writer of the time of Gilbert declares :

'He was a master most celebrated, intrepid, learned, and superior to all the other masters. He was a logician, theologian, moralist, dialectician. Of the seven arts he lacked only astronomy. . . . He might himself be called, and with reason, another Boëthius.'³

2. *Robert Pulleyn* († c. 1150), an Englishman, taught both at Paris and at Oxford. He was finally made a cardinal, and died in Rome. He wrote *Sententiarum theologicarum libri VIII*. A pupil of both William of Champeaux and Abélard, he unites Speculative and Positive Theology, but with special weight upon the latter.

3. The most important of these three scholars was *Peter the Lombard*, the *Magister Sententiarum* († c. 1160). He was born at Novara, Italy, early in the twelfth century, and was bishop of Paris at his death. He studied at Bologna and Rheims, and finally went to Paris, where he studied in the school of St. Victor and taught theology in the school of Notre Dame. He was not the first writer of *Sentences*. Several before him had

¹ For these citations *vide* Poole, *Medieval Thought*, pp. 184 seq.

² Poole, *ibid.*, p. 132.

³ Clerval, *Les Ecoles de Chartres*, p. 168.

written systems of doctrine under that title, as we have seen. There has been preserved a work of this kind by an unknown Bandinus, which so closely resembles the Lombard's work that some kind of dependence seems probable. But Peter's *Sentences* have been those on which all the Scholastics build. The work of Peter is entitled *Sententiarum libri IV.*

The first book discusses chiefly the Trinity, in forty-eight distinctions ; the second the creation, in forty-four distinctions ; the third the incarnation, faith and morals, in forty distinctions ; the fourth the sacraments, in forty-two distinctions, and the Last Things, in eight distinctions.

This system has the merit of simplicity and of thoroughness. The theology is essentially Augustinian, although the Scriptures and the Fathers are used with freedom and skill, after the manner of Positive Theology. The method is Aristotelian, and in so far dialectical and philosophical. The combination of the dialectic method with Positive Theology is so sound, that the orthodoxy of these Sentences as well as their excellence is almost unimpeachable. They became at once, and remained for generations, the compendium, the student's textbook of doctrine. Peter was also distinguished for his contributions to Exegetical Theology. He took the *Glossa interlinearis* of Anselm as a basis, and put them in a new form, known as the *Magna glossatura*. He also wrote commentaries on the Psalms, Job, and the Epistles of Paul.

The most distinguished pupil of the Lombard was *Peter of Poitiers*, who carried on his work as teacher in Paris for forty years, succeeding Peter Comestor in the cathedral school, and dying as chancellor at the beginning of the thirteenth century. His lectures, published in part as *Sententiarum libri V.*, were based upon the *Sentences* of his master, and this did much to give them the currency they attained.

7. The monastic school of St. Victor in Paris became an important centre of mystic theology under the three great mystic theologians, Hugh, Richard, and Walter.

The collegiate church of St. Geneviève was reorganised in 1147, and the chapter of seculars became a body of Canons Regular. The change was disastrous to the school, which soon declined in importance. But the monastic school of St. Victor rose to eminence through several distinguished teachers, in hostility to the teachers of the cathedral school. The chief of these were, in their order, Hugh, Richard, and Walter, all mystic theologians.

1. Hugh (c. 1097-1141) was born in Saxony, and was trained first at Hamersleben, and then in Paris, at St. Victor's. He was especially distinguished in exegesis, and wrote an Introduction to the Scriptures entitled *De scripturis et scriptoribus sacris prænotationes*. He recognises only twenty-two books as belonging to the canon of the Old Testament, excluding the Apocrypha. He also wrote commentaries on the Pentateuch, Judges, Ruth, Kings, Psalms, Lamentations, and Joel, and sermons on Ecclesiastes and Obadiah. He was a positive theologian as well as a mystic, and wrote many dogmatic treatises, a comprehensive system of doctrine entitled *Summa sententiarum*, and *De sacramentis fidei*, also an encyclopædic work called *Eruditio didascalica*, and a commentary on Dionysius the Areopagite. He was opposed to the dialectic method. He defines the three grades of speculative mysticism as *cogitatio*, *meditatio*, and *contemplatio*.

2. Richard († 1173) was a Scot, a pupil and friend of Hugh. Dante describes him as 'in contemplation more than man.'¹ His works include six books on the Trinity, a discussion of the Incarnation, and commentaries on the Song of Songs, Ezekiel, and Revelation, as

¹ Dante, *Paradiso*, x. 132.

well as various mystic writings. He used the dialectic and allegorical methods, the latter to excess.

3. *Walter* († c. 1180) succeeded Richard as prior of the monastery of St. Victor. He wrote a polemic work : *Contra manifestas et damnatas etiam in conciliis hæreses, quas sophistæ Abælardus, Lombardus, Petrus Pictavinus et Gilbertus Porretanus libris sententiarum suarum acuunt, limant, roboran*. He names these four theologians, 'the four labyrinths of France,' all possessed by the spirit of Aristotle.

8. *John of Salisbury* was a broad-minded scholar. After frequenting the various great schools of learning, he became himself an able teacher in Canterbury and Chartres.

John (c. 1115-1180) was born at Salisbury, and studied 'in all the schools with all the great masters,' of France and Italy as well as England.¹ He tells of going about from teacher to teacher in France, very much as students do now in German universities. John left England to study in Paris c. 1136. He went first to study logic with Abélard on Mount St. Geneviève, and took lessons in dialectic for two years with Alberic of Rheims and Robert of Melun at the same place. Afterwards he went for three years to Chartres, where he had for professors William of Conches, Richard l'Évêque, Pierre Hélie, and others. Then he became a teacher as well as pupil. Aristotle he studied under the guidance of an Englishman known as Adam du Petit Pont, who subsequently became bishop of St. Asaph. Having returned to Paris, he studied logic and theology with Gilbert de la Porrée, and theology alone with his successors Robert Pulleyn and Simon of Poissy. In this manner the studies of John extended over twelve years. He gives vivid descriptions of his various teachers. Abélard he calls 'the Peripatetic of Palais . . . an illustrious teacher and admired of all men.

¹ Clerval, *Les Écoles de Chartres*, p. 276.

At his feet I acquired the first rudiments of the dialectical art, and snatched according to the scant measure of my wits whatever passed his lips with entire greediness of mind.' Of Alberic and Robert of Melun John says : ' The one was in questions subtle and large, the other in responses lucid, short, and agreeable. . . . They were both men of sharp intellect, and in study unconquerable.' Of the three years spent with ' the Grammatician of Conches ' John says, ' I shall never regret that time.' Richard l'Évêque he describes as ' a man whose training was deficient in almost nothing, who had more heart even than speech, more knowledge than skill, more truth than vanity, more virtue than show.' Adam he deems ' a man of exceeding sharp wits, and, whatever others may think, of much learning. . . . He used to say that he would have few hearers or none, if he propounded dialectic with that simplicity of terms and easiness of sentences with which it ought to be taught.' Master Gilbert was ' too quickly removed.' Robert Pulleyn ' life and knowledge alike recommend.' Simon of Poissy proved ' a trusty lecturer, but dull in disputation.' John concludes :

' It seemed pleasant to me to revisit my old companions on the Mount, whom I had left, and whom dialectic still detained, to confer with them touching old matters of debate ; that we might by mutual comparison measure together our several progress. I found them as before, and where they were before ; nor did they appear to have reached the goal in unravelling the old questions, nor had they added one jot of a proposition. The aims that once inspired them, inspired them still : they had progressed in one point only ; they had unlearned moderation ; they knew not modesty ; in such wise that one might despair of their recovery.'¹

John became an important man of affairs as well as a great scholar. He was attached to the archbishop's court at Canterbury under Theobald, Thomas à Becket,

¹ For John of Salisbury *vide* Poole, *Medieval Thought*, pp. 203 seq.

and Richard. He was constantly engaged in diplomatic missions, and crossed the Alps ten times. He was the most broad-minded scholar of his age, and 'for thirty years the central figure of English learning.' The last four years of his life he was bishop of Chartres. His principal work was entitled *Policraticus*, and is 'to some extent an encyclopædia of the cultivated thought of the middle of the twelfth century.'¹ In his *Metalogicus* he tells us about scholars, their methods, and the state of learning. According to Sandys,

He 'stands out as the most learned man of his time. He gives an analysis of the whole series of Aristotle's treatises on Logic. His *Metalogicus* is, in fact, the first work of the Middle Ages in which the whole of the *Organon* is turned to account, and Aristotle's own criticisms on Plato's doctrine of Ideas applied to the scholastic controversy on universals.'²

John also wrote *Historia pontificalis*, letters of great importance for the ecclesiastical history of the time, and commentaries on St. Paul. The Lateran Council of 1179, which decreed that every cathedral should have its teacher of theology, was attended by John.³

9. In this period the Eastern Church produced few theologians of distinction. The chief seats of learning were Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Mount Athos.

In the eleventh century the only writers of importance were the exegetes, *Theophylact*, archbishop of Achrida, Bulgaria († 1007), and *Euthymius Zigabenus*, a monk of Constantinople († 1118). Like the Western commentators they were compilers, and reproduced the expositions of the Fathers. Their exegesis is chiefly that of Chrysostom, Theodore, and the Antiochan school.

In the twelfth century there appeared several canonists and polemic writers. *Eustathius*, archbishop of Thessa-

¹ Sandys, i. pp. 537 seq. ; Poole, *Medieval Thought*, p. 218.

² Sandys, i. pp. 539 seq.

³ *Vide Clerval, Les écoles de Chartres*, p. 276.

lonica († 1193), a zealous opponent of formalism, became famous both as a reformer and as a commentator on Homer. *Nicholas of Methone* († before 1166) produced important polemic works. *Theodore Balsamon* of Constantinople († 1203) wrote commentaries on the *Nomocanon* and *Syntagma*, erroneously ascribed to Photius, and a series of *Answers* and one of *Dissertations* on canon law, all of great value. *Johannes Zonaras* wrote works of importance on Church history and law, dating apparently from the first half of the twelfth century. Valuable work was done all through the Middle Ages in the Eastern monasteries, where the works of the Fathers were diligently studied, copied, and annotated. Mount Athos and Studium were the chief centres of this activity.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE UNIVERSITIES IN
THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES

THE study of theology, which had so greatly revived in the eleventh century, increased in public interest in the twelfth and attained its highest development in the thirteenth century, especially in the universities, and through the great scholastics, who were attached chiefly to the new mendicant orders.

1. At the beginning of the twelfth century there was a great revival in the study of law, both civil law and canon law, favoured especially by the establishment of the University of Bologna under the famous teacher Irnerius.

The twelfth century witnessed a great revival in the study of law, due doubtless to the conflict between the popes and the emperors, which Hildebrand had carried on with so much vigour, and which was to continue through the entire Middle Age. Both sides needed trained lawyers to maintain their cause.

The study of law had been carried on from the most ancient times in the great Italian centres, especially at Rome. When the Lombards established themselves in the north and Pavia became their chief seat of learning, it also became a school of law. So Ravenna, the seat of the exarchate, had become from the seventh century a centre for the study of law. But for the most part this branch of learning was studied under private teachers,

and the teaching and practice were closely connected under leading lawyers, both civil and ecclesiastical. In the eleventh century both Lombard and Roman law were certainly taught in the school of Pavia. But Ravenna seems to have been the chief law school in the last half of the eleventh century.¹

Bologna, which had long been famous as a school of grammar and rhetoric, began in the twelfth century to be a legal centre. The origin of the law school at Bologna is involved in some obscurity. It first comes into prominence with Irnerius (1100-1130), a teacher of Roman civil law. He had been preceded by Pepo, who lectured on the 'Old Digest.' The whole of the Digest was probably first discussed by Irnerius. The great increase of students of law brought about the separation of these students from all others. All the students began to organise themselves into guilds for self-protection, defence and mutual assistance, dividing themselves into four nations; and so the schools of Bologna became a university of students, an organisation of students, electing their own officers. The teachers also organised themselves for mutual protection into a guild, and thus the University of Bologna originated.

The canon law was developing alongside of the civil law. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals had given it a great impulse in the ninth century; and, on the basis of these, other compilations of papal decrees were made. In the eleventh century the chief were: the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (1012-1023), the *Collectio canonum* of Anselm of Lucca († 1086), the *Liber canonum* of Cardinal Deusdedit († 1086-1087). In the first part of the twelfth century the *Panormia* of Ivo of Chartres († c. 1116), and the *Decretum*, probably by the same author, were the most complete collections. They were the basis of the *Decretum* of Gratian, which became the great

¹ *Vide* Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i. p. 107.

text-book for canon law, the basis for all mediæval canonists. The proper title of Gratian's compilation is : *Concordantia discordantium Canonum*. It was probably published in 1142.¹ Gratian was a Camaldulensian monk and a teacher of canon law at Bologna. Roland Bandinelli, a cotemporary of Gratian, a teacher of theology at Bologna and afterwards Pope Alexander III., also wrote a *Summa* of canon law, which has been preserved.

As Rashdall says :

'Bologna was absorbed with the questions about Investiture, about the relations of Papacy and Empire, Church and State, Feudalism and civic liberty, while the schools of France were distracted by questions about the Unity of Intellect, about Transubstantiation, about the reality of Universals.'²

In the thirteenth century the canon law developed still further in five books of *Decretals*, published by Gregory IX., to which *Liber Sextus* was added by Boniface VIII. The *Corpus juris canonici* was completed by adding the *Clementines* of Clement V., published in 1317, and the *Extravagants*, extending down to the time of Sixtus IV. 'The *Decretum* (of Gratian) was a text-book : the *Decretals* were a Code.' Rashdall says :

'At all periods of the Middle Age it was the Canonists who filled the most important sees in Christendom. . . . It was chiefly through the Canon Law that the Civil Law transformed the jurisprudence of nearly the whole of continental Europe.'³

2. The University of Paris grew out of the cathedral school, owing to the great increase of professors and students in the middle of the twelfth century, but was not fully organised until the thirteenth century.

The chancellor of the cathedral of Paris had the sole authority to license teachers. As the teachers grew in

¹ Schulte, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts*, i. p. 48; Rashdall, i. p. 132.

² Rashdall, i. pp. 139 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, i. pp. 142 seq.

number, there was not room for them all in the cathedral precincts ; therefore some were licensed to teach on the little bridge connecting the cathedral isle with the mainland to the south, and also on the mainland, the students residing wherever they could. The teachers gradually came together in a guild or association, somewhere about the middle of the twelfth century (1150-1170).¹ After a teacher was licensed by the chancellor he was initiated into the association of masters. There arose an inevitable conflict of jurisdiction between the chancellor and the association of teachers ; and out of this conflict, early in the thirteenth century, the organisation of the university was born. Apparently this conflict arose after the death of the great teacher, Peter of Poitiers († 1205), when he was succeeded by weaker men. The teachers appealed to the pope against the chancellor, and the pope gradually defined the relative jurisdiction of each party.

The situation in Paris was complicated by the rise and suppression of a dangerous heresy. At the beginning of this century the Arabian version of Aristotle made its appearance in the schools of Paris in a roundabout way, through the Arabs, Moors and Jews ; and, indeed, in the pantheistic form of Avicenna († 1037) and Averroès († c. 1198). This originated an outbreak of speculation in Paris, under the lead of Simon de Tournai, Almaric of Bena († 1205-1207), and David de Dinant († after 1215). In 1209 a synod of Paris began to suppress their followers by a bloody persecution. Some were burned at the stake, others imprisoned, and the works of Aristotle upon natural philosophy and his commentaries were prohibited by the council. This intellectual movement was cotemporary with the outbreak of the Albigenses in the south of France, who were also suppressed by the most severe measures.

¹ Rashdall, i. p. 294.

In 1215 Cardinal Robert de Courçon made for the university a code of statutes, a sort of constitution ; but the association of teachers was allowed to make statutes (such as we call *by-laws*) within a limited sphere. These statutes contained a prohibition of the physical and metaphysical works of Aristotle. Gregory IX. renewed this prohibition in 1231, with the reservation : 'until they shall have been examined and purged from all heresy.'¹ This reservation was due to the influence of the more correct and pure translations of Aristotle directly from the Greek, which began to make their way, especially in Italy, immediately after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. The difference between the real Aristotle and his Arabian interpreters now gradually became evident. In the meantime (c. 1219-1221) the masters of arts were organised into four nations, as were the students at Bologna. Over each of the nations a proctor presided, and over the whole body a rector. These officials are clearly discriminated for the first time in a document of the year 1245. The four faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine were distinguished, and all in operation ; but the most important in Paris were those of Arts and Theology. The four faculties are recognised in the earliest corporate act of the university, a deed of 1221.² The chancellor of the cathedral was virtually the head of the theological faculty, although not himself a member of the faculty. The headship of the whole university was in the rector of the faculty of arts. By a bull of Pope Gregory IX., *Parens scientiarum*, the university received, in 1231, a charter of privilege, called by Denifle its *Magna Charta*.³

3. The University of Oxford originated in the latter part of the twelfth century, probably through students and

¹ Rashdall, i. p. 358.

² *Ibid.*, p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

professors from Paris ; the University of Cambridge soon after, by a migration from Oxford.

The English universities of Oxford and Cambridge had an obscure origin. They did not develop from cathedral schools, for the cathedral of Lincoln was about 120 miles distant from Oxford ; and the cathedral of Ely, though not far from Cambridge, seems to have had nothing to do with the origin of that university. There is no sufficient evidence that either university originated from monastic schools. Rather, like the university of Bologna, those of Oxford and Cambridge most probably originated from private schools. Oxford had become a commercial and political centre in the eleventh century. There were students in Oxford early in the twelfth century. Theobaldus Stampensis had sixty to one hundred clerks under his instruction there, prior to 1117. Robert Pulleyn taught theology there in 1133. Giraldus, the Welshman, tells how, in 1184-1185, he read his *Topography of Ireland* to students and doctors of the different faculties. Walter Map, archdeacon of Oxford, was then one of the masters. Richard of Devizes, the chronicler, writing in 1192, says that the city could scarcely feed her clerks, so great was their number.¹

It is supposed that the organisation of the university was due to the recall of English scholars from Paris, and elsewhere on the continent, by Henry II., in 1167 or 1168.² The head of Oxford University was a rector, chosen by the masters of the schools, and himself a master. Later he became subordinate as chancellor to the bishop of Lincoln.

Cambridge University seems to have originated from a migration thither of students from Oxford, due to a conflict between town and gown, in 1209.

There were two nations at Oxford with their proctors,

¹ Richard of Devizes, *vide English Historical Society*, 1838, pp. 61 seq.

² *Vide Rashdall*, ii. pp. 330 seq.

the northern and the southern ; but, in 1274, these were amalgamated. In 1254 a bull of Innocent IV. confirmed Oxford in its 'immunities and ancient customs.' The oldest colleges were : (1) *University*, founded by William of Durham (designed 1249, begun 1280) ; (2) *Merton*, founded by Walter de Merton, (designed c. 1263, begun in 1264-1265) ; (3) *Balliol*, founded by Sir John de Balliol (designed 1260, begun 1266).

As Rashdall says :

'The great work of the universities was the consecration of learning : and it is not easy to exaggerate the importance of that work upon the moral, intellectual and religious progress of Europe.' ¹

4. Early in the thirteenth century a widespread revival of religion gave birth to the mendicant orders. The Franciscan order was founded at Assisi in 1210, the Dominican at Toulouse in 1215. These were followed by other lesser orders. All of these furnished scholars and teachers to the universities.

Dominic († 1221), the founder of the Dominican order, was born in Castile, and trained in theology and philosophy at Palencia. Under the influence of his bishop, Diego de Azevedo, he undertook to lead a crusade against heresy by a body of preachers trained for the service, and spending their lives in imitation of the apostles. His first followers he sent to Toulouse for training in theology. The Dominicans were essentially preachers and teachers ; and they established themselves in the great cities and seats of education : at Bologna and Paris, in 1217 ; and in Oxford, c. 1221, at the Church of St. Edward in the Jewry, where they opened the school in which Robert Bacon taught theology. The rule of the order required eight years of study in theology after the close of the novitiate. In the

¹ *Vide* Rashdall, ii. p. 693.

latter part of the century each province of the order had its own *studium generale*; and Dominicans filled the chairs of theology at Bologna, Padua, Vienna, Cologne, Prague, Oxford, and Salamanca.¹

Among the scholars trained by the Dominicans may be mentioned *Nicolaus de Gorran*, preacher and exegete (c. 1210-1295), whose work outlived his reputation. His commentaries cover a great part of the Bible, including the Gospels, Epistles, and Revelation. He also wrote *Distinctions*, a collection of 'sentences or thoughts from the Holy Books, arranged in alphabetical order,' of which a number of copies still exist. His sermons also have been printed in several editions. According to Feret, his commentaries on the Catholic Epistles appeared in Paris, in an edition of the year 1543, under the name of Thomas Aquinas.²

The Franciscans were less intellectual, and rather mystic; but they also established themselves in the great centres at Oxford and Cambridge c. 1224, and at Paris in 1230. Their founder, *St. Francis of Assisi* († 1226), had also as his ideal the exact imitation of Christ in a life of apostolic service; but he emphasised the practical side of that ministry, and its condition, voluntary poverty. 'When once these orders had been founded,' as Sandys says, 'all the great schoolmen were either Franciscans or Dominicans.'³ The first Franciscan to open a school at Oxford was *Agnellus of Pisa*. He it was who introduced into the Franciscan school Robert Greathead, the first great teacher of Oxford. *Adam Marsh* († 1258), the friend of Greathead, was the first Franciscan to lecture there. Roger Bacon calls these scholars 'majores clericorum de mundo.'⁴

¹ *Vide* Grützmacher, 'Dominic,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, ii. pp. 511 seq.

³ Sandys, i. p. 573.

⁴ Bacon, *Op. tert.* (Op. ined.), p. 75; cited by Rashdall, ii. p. 255, n. 3.

The Carmelites settled at Oxford in 1256, the Augustinians two years later, and lesser orders soon followed.

5. *Several other important universities were established in the thirteenth century, including those at Naples, Rome, Toulouse, Padua, Salamanca, and Lisbon.*

The university of *Naples* was founded in 1224, and was designed to be the centre of all departments of learning for the kingdom. But the school of *Salerno* had long been a *fons medicinae*, and the attempt to establish a medical faculty at Naples failed. In 1231 the right of examination in the department of medicine was limited to the doctors of Salerno. In 1253 an effort was made to transfer all the faculties from Naples to Salerno, and to unite them with the old school of medicine in that place ; but this experiment also failed ; and in 1258 the three faculties returned to Naples, and the faculty of medicine remained alone at Salerno. Eight years later, however, Naples recovered its faculty of medicine. Innocent IV. established in *Rome* (1244-1245) a university for theology and law. In *Padua* a university was organised in 1222, and re-established in 1260 by a migration from *Bologna*, with all the faculties save theology, which was added in 1363. A number of colleges sprang up around it in the fourteenth century, and it eventually became the great university of *Venice*.

In *France* a university was founded at *Toulouse* by Pope *Gregory IX.*, after the model of *Paris* (c. 1229). In *Spain* universities were established at *Salamanca* in 1230, and *Valladolid* in the middle of the century. In *Portugal* a university was recognised as already founded in *Lisbon* by papal bull, as early as 1290, but was transferred to *Coimbra* (c. 1308), and after several migrations between the towns, finally settled there in 1537.¹

¹ *Vide Rashdall*, ii. pp. 101 seq.

A number of colleges grew up about the *university of Paris* in the thirteenth century. There were ten monastic colleges, founded between 1209 and 1269, including those of the Trinitarians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Bernardines, Augustinians, Carmelites, and those 'de Sainte Catherine, des Prémontrés, de Saint-Denys, de Cluny.' Six years of study were required for the regulars and seven for the seculars, before the *Baccalauréat*. Eight years of study in theology were prescribed for the doctor's degree. For three years students devoted themselves to the study of the *Scriptures* as *Biblici*, for one to the *Sentences* of the Lombard as *Sententiarii*, for four they prepared as candidates for licence. The candidate had to be present at the 'public acts' of the faculty, to speak, discuss theses, sustain arguments and preach.¹ The theological course was extended in the following century, by the reform of 1366, over a period of sixteen years.² The *Baccalarius Formatus* was required to give lectures on the Bible. 'The Secular's lectures on the Bible were merely delivered "in course"—because they were required by the faculty as a condition of proceeding to the higher degrees.... The "ordinary" lectures on the Bible were delivered by "religious" Bachelors. Each of the mendicant orders in Paris . . . was required to supply a fresh lecturer (*Biblicus ordinarius*) every year.'³ So there was no such neglect of Biblical study in favour of the scholastic theology as has been claimed. In fact, there has been a greater emphasis on systematic theology since the Reformation than before. The difference between theological study then and now is less in subject-matter than in method and emphasis. Then the emphasis was on the higher exegesis—the use of the Bible as a means of union and communion with God; but there was a neglect of the historico-critical

¹ *Vide* Feret, ii. pp. 41 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, i. pp. 465 seq.

² *Vide* Rashdall, i. p. 463.

in favour of the allegorical method. Now the neglect is of the spiritual in Biblical study. The difference as to the subject-matter of study, then and now, is chiefly in that gained by the inductive method, especially in the realm of natural science. Outside of this realm there is not much new material.

Of the secular colleges founded at Paris before the close of the thirteenth century, eight may be mentioned, *i.e.* those of Constantinople, St. Honoré, St. Nicolas du Louvre, St. Victor, Trésorier, Harcourt, Cholets, and above all the Collège de Sorbonne (1257-1258), founded by Robert de Sorbonne and richly endowed, with provision for all expenses. For admission the study of philosophy was required as well as the liberal arts. According to Rashdall, the Sorbonne

'was a college for men who had already taken the degree of Master of Arts and were desirous of entering upon the long and laborious career which led to the theological doctorate. . . . Originally . . . the "Sorbonne" was nothing more than a college of theologians. . . . In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, the title came to be popularly applied to the whole theological faculty of Paris. . . . Membership of the Sorbonne . . . became an honorary distinction which was usually sought by most of the theological doctors of the university. . . . The Hall or Schools of the Sorbonne became the scene of disputationes and other public acts of the theological faculty, especially of its meetings to discuss and pronounce judgment upon heresies or theological novelties. . . . According to Richer, all doctors of theology in his time styled themselves Doctors of the Sorbonne.'¹

The course of study embraced ten years, but by the close of the seventh the student must have shown some ability as teacher or preacher to be retained.²

6. *Robert Greathead, Alexander of Hales, and Vincent of Beauvais begin a series of great doctors of the Church.*

1. *Robert Greathead* (Grosseteste, c. 1175-1253), bishop

¹ Rashdall, i. pp. 488 seq.

² Feret, ii. pp. 11 seq.

of Lincoln, was a great teacher and author, an ethical and practical theologian, who made much use of the Scriptures. He was trained in Oxford and Paris ; and his education is said to have been ' built on the foundation of the liberal arts and on an abundant knowledge of literature.' ¹ Matthew of Paris calls him ' vir in Latino et Græco peritissimus ' ; ² Gower, ' the grete clerc Grossteste.' ³ He dominated English thought for two centuries, and was ranked by Wyclif with Augustine and above Aristotle.

Greathead wrote an encyclopædic work entitled *Compendium scientiarum*, classifying all departments of knowledge ; also *Dicta theologica*, and many other works. He gave, in Stevenson's words, ' a powerful impulse to almost every department of intellectual activity, revived the study of neglected languages, and grasped the central idea of the unity of knowledge.' ⁴ He wrote commentaries on Dionysius the Areopagite and John of Damascus, Aristotle and Boëthius. He had studied Hebrew, and in his work, *De cessatione legalium*, he sought to convert the Jews. He was a great preacher, and a devoted student of the Scriptures. In a letter to the regents of Oxford he wrote :

' Let the foundation-stones be well laid ; on them the whole building rests. The morning is the best time for study, and the good old Paris custom should be observed of reserving those early hours for the lectures on Scripture, giving the later part of the day to other subjects.'

In 1235 Greathead was made bishop of Lincoln, and began a work of reformation among the monks and the clergy that brought him into conflict with both king and pope. At his death the university of Oxford certified Rome of his ' splendid learning and that he most admir-

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, cited by Sandys, i. p. 575.

² *Hist. Angl.*, ii. 467.

³ *Conf. Am.*, iv. 234 ; *vide* Sandys, i. p. 578.

⁴ Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 337 ; *vide* Sandys, i. p. 578.

ably governed Oxford, in his degree of doctor of holy theology.¹ Associated with Greathead was *Adam Marsh*.² These were the teachers of Roger Bacon and many other distinguished scholars.

2. *Alexander of Hales*, Gloucestershire († 1245), was 'the first of the Schoolmen who was familiar with the whole range of Aristotle's philosophy, and with his Arabic commentators, and who employed the same in the service of theology.'³ He was called *doctor irrefragabilis* and *theologorum monarcha*. He went to Paris, to study and teach, and there became a Franciscan. His principal work is his *Summa universæ theologiæ*, completed by his pupils some years after his death.

The pupil and successor of Alexander at Paris was *John of Rochelle* (c. 1200-1253), whose chief work was *De anima*.

The establishment of the mendicant orders in Paris soon brought about a conflict of jurisdiction in the university. The friars were unwilling to take part in the great secession of the members of the university from Paris in 1229, but took advantage of the situation in their own interests, and started an independent theological school. *Roland of Cremona* and *John of St. Giles* taught in the Dominican convent, the latter changing from a secular into a regular. *Alexander of Hales* continued in the Franciscan convent the lectures he had begun as a secular. This increased the friction. Finally an appeal of the friars to Rome resulted in a papal bull (1255) authorising the chancellor to grant licences without the consent of the masters. This brought the conflict of jurisdiction to a crisis. It became clear that the friars wished to have all the privileges of the university without yielding to its authority. There was a long struggle, in which the pope continued to take the part of the friars, until the pontificate of *Urban IV.* (1261), a

¹ *Vide Drane, Christian Schools and Scholars*, pp. 484 seq.

² *Vide* p. 47.

³ *Vide Sandys*, i. p. 574.

Parisian canonist, who thoroughly understood the whole situation and succeeded in restoring peace.

3. One of the earliest and most learned of the Dominicans was *Vincent of Beauvais* († 1264). He was tutor to the sons of Louis IX., and wrote *De institutione filiorum regiorum sive nobilium*. He was the author of the greatest encyclopædia of the Middle Ages, *Speculum mundi*, written in four parts: *Naturale*, *Doctrinale*, *Historiale* and *Morale*, the last completed long after his death (c. 1310-1320). His numerous works included *Tractatus de gratia Dei* and *De sancto Johanne evangelista*.

7. *The three great scholars of the thirteenth century were Albert the Great, Bonaventura and Thomas Aquinas, who gave shape to the Scholastic Theology which has dominated the Western Church until the present day.*

1. *Albert von Bollstädt, Albertus Magnus* (1193-1280), was born at Lauingen, not far from Augsburg, was educated at Padua, and became a Dominican. He taught in convent schools in Germany, and lectured in Paris (c. 1245) and Cologne (c. 1248). He was made provincial of the Dominicans at Cologne (1254) and bishop of Ratisbon six years later; but in 1262 he resigned and returned to Cologne. He is known as the *Doctor universalis*. Albert's principal theological work is his *Summa theologiae*. He followed the method of the Lombard's *Sentences*, and wrote a commentary on these in three volumes. He was the first scholastic to use the entire Aristotelian philosophy in systematic arrangement in the interest of the dogmatic system of the Church.¹ His work is rich in detail in the discussion of all kinds of subtle questions. He taught the Aristotelian Realism, and made the important distinction of the *universale ante rem* in the Divine Mind (Neo-Platonic and Augustinian), the *universale in re* in the Aristotelian

¹ *Vide Ueberweg, Geschichte der Philosophie* (ed. Heinze), ii. p. 287.

sense, and the *universale post rem* in the human mind. This was a comprehension of Realism and Conceptualism. Albert was also the author of commentaries on the Psalms, Lamentations, Daniel, Baruch, the Minor Prophets, the Four Gospels and the Apocalypse, sermons, and a commentary on Dionysius the Areopagite.

As Schaff has said :

‘He traversed the whole area of the physical sciences. No one for centuries had been such a student of nature. . . . His knowledge is often at fault, but sometimes his statements are prophetic of modern discovery.’

His great *Study of Created Things* is ‘an attempt, whose boldness has never been exceeded, to explain the great phenomena of the visible universe.’¹

2. *Bonaventura*, the *Doctor seraphicus* (1221-1274), was born in Tuscany, became a Franciscan (c. 1238), and studied in Paris under Alexander of Hales and John of Rochelle. He succeeded John of Parma as teacher in Paris in 1247, and as general of the Franciscan order ten years later. He was chosen cardinal-bishop of Albano in 1273, and died at the Council of Lyons, where he spoke in favour of union with the Greeks. Bonaventura wrote in defence of his order *De paupertate Christi* and *Determinationes questionum circa regulam Francisci*; and has been called its second founder. His principal works on theology are his commentary on the *Sentences* of the Lombard, and his *Breviloquium* and *Centiloquium*. He uses especially Augustine, Anselm, and Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, in their combination of the mystic and dialectic methods. Bonaventura is more practical and less speculative than Albert. Like the other great mystics he sought union and communion with God in seraphic vision. The difference between these mystics and the great dogmatic theologians was chiefly one of emphasis. The mystic uses the religious imagination :

¹ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, v., i. pp. 655 seq.

the dogmatist, the reasoning powers. The one is absorbed in mystic, the other in logical contemplation. Mystic contemplation may attach itself to external things, but does not depend on such things. Gerson preferred Bonaventura to all the other doctors, 'because in his teaching he is solid and sure, pious and just'; because he abstains, so far as he can, from all curiosity, and knows how to avoid secular, dialectical, or physical matters hidden under theological forms; because in working to enlighten the spirit his aim is by means of that light 'to bring piety to birth in the heart.'¹ Bonaventura wrote commentaries on Luke, John, the Psalms, and Ecclesiastes. He uses the method called *Collationes*, or *Collativa expositio*, a selection of important passages of the Bible for exposition, and the use of a large number of others to illustrate and confirm these. He also wrote *Postilla seu expositio in Canticum canticorum*, and many mystical and practical works, including *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, and *Meditations on the Life of Jesus*, also hymns still in use. According to Sixtus v. 'nothing more fruitful for the Church of God' had appeared than the theology of Bonaventura.²

3. *Thomas Aquinas*, the *Doctor angelicus* (c. 1225-1274), was of noble birth, and was educated at Monte Cassino and the university of Naples. He became a Dominican in 1243, and was sent to Cologne, where he studied under Albert the Great. He followed his master to Paris, and some years later back again to Cologne. 'This long association of Thomas with the great polyhistor' is called by Seeberg 'the most important influence in his development; it made him a comprehensive scholar and won him permanently for the Aristotelian method.'³

¹ Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Du Pin, i. 21; Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, ii. p. 300.

² *Encyclical*, ed. Peltier, i. p. viii; cited by Schaff, v., i. p. 680, n. 4.

³ Seeberg, 'Thomas Aquinas,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Albert is reported as saying of Thomas: 'He will give forth in teaching such a roar as will resound through the whole world.'¹ Thomas taught himself at Cologne, Paris, Bologna, Rome, Naples, and elsewhere. He is the greatest and most comprehensive of the scholastics, and the standard theologian of the Roman Catholic Church. The papal encyclical of 1879 praises him as 'inter scholasticos doctores omnium princeps et magister . . . veritatis, unice amator, divina humanaque scientia prædivis.'² Aquinas sought the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, and died on his way to the Council of Lyons. He is the author of many dogmatic works, including: a Commentary on the *Sentences* of the Lombard, *Quæstiones disputatæ*, *Quæstiones quodlibetales XII.*, *Compendium theologicæ*, *Summa theologicæ*, and an Exposition of the Creed. While he builds on the Lombard and Albert, he is independent in judgment, and more comprehensive and able in his scholarship. It is said that in his *Summa* he considers over three thousand articles and fifteen thousand arguments or difficulties.³ Among his apologetic works the most important are: *Summa de veritate catholicae fidei contra Gentiles*, *Contra errores Græcorum*, and *De unitate intellectus contra Averrhoistas*. Thomas is also the author of many commentaries on Job, the Psalms, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Matthew, John, the Pauline Epistles, and also of *Catenæ* on the Gospels. He uses for these commentaries various terms: *Continua expositio*, *Continua glossa*, *Aurea glossa*, and *Catena*. He is said to cite more than eighty Greek and Latin Fathers. He also wrote many works on philosophy, including thirteen commentaries on Aristotle. He is called by Sandys 'on the question of "universals" . . . a Realist in the moderate Aristotelian sense.'⁴ He conceives of theology and philosophy as

¹ *Vide* Schaff, v., i. p. 663, n. 1.

³ *Vide* Flügge, *Theol. Wiss.*, iii. p. 521.

² *Vide* Schaff, v., i. p. 662, n. 1.

⁴ Sandys, i. p. 583.

searching for the truth by different methods. 'Non eodem ordine utraque doctrina procedit.'¹ 'In his consideration of ethics,' according to Schaff, 'he rises far above the other mediæval writers, and marks an epoch in the treatment of the subject. He devotes to it . . . one third of his entire system of theology.'² Three of his hymns are in the Roman Breviary.

Among the other celebrated doctors of this century three more call for special mention.

4. *Roger Bacon, Doctor mirabilis* (1214-1294), was a Franciscan, who studied at Oxford and Paris, and taught in both universities. His teachers at Oxford, Robert Greathead, Adam Marsh and Thomas Wallensis, were all said to have been pupils of *Edmund Rich* of Canterbury († 1240), of whom it was said, '(studebat) discere, quasi semper victurus ; vivere, quasi cras moriturus.'³ Bacon was a student of the same temper. He became famous, especially for his studies in natural science ; but produced important works in philosophy and theology also. His principal work on theology, written shortly before his death, was a *Compendium studii theologici* in five books (1292). He found fault with the scholastic method of instruction, and, in his *Compendium studii philosophiæ*, he criticised at the same time Aristotle and the great scholastics, Alexander of Hales, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas. His *Opus majus* treats of the relations of theology with science and philosophy, and the study of the natural sciences. It has been recognised as 'at once the Encyclopædia and the Organon of the thirteenth century.' His *Opus minus* abbreviates the former work. His *Opus tertium* reproduces both works in the aphoristic form. Bacon writes :

'Ignorance of the truths set forth by the ancients is due to the little care that is spent on the study of the ancient languages.

¹ *Vide* Schaff, v., i. p. 667, n. 5.

³ *Vide* Sandys, i. p. 589.

² *Vide* Schaff, *ibid.*, p. 672.

It is vain to object that some of the Fathers neglected that study and misunderstood its advantages. Worthy as they are of respect in many ways, they cannot serve as our models in everything. . . . It is impossible to obtain a perfect knowledge of the Scriptures without knowing Hebrew and Greek, or of philosophy without knowing Arabic as well. . . . There are not five men in Latin Christendom who are acquainted with the Hebrew, Greek and Arabic grammar. . . . There are many among the Latins who can *speak* Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew; very few who understand the *grammar* of these languages, or know how to teach them. . . . The scientific works of Aristotle, Avicenna, Seneca, Cicero, and other ancients cannot be had except at a great cost; their principal works have not been translated into Latin. . . . Slowly has any portion of the philosophy of Aristotle come into use among the Latins.¹

‘In urging the study of Greek as well as Hebrew, he adds :

“We are the heirs of the scholars of the past, and (even in our own interests) are bound to maintain the traditions of learning, on pain of being charged with infinite folly.”²

Bacon himself wrote Hebrew and Greek grammars.³ His *Epistola de laude Scripturæ sacræ* emphasises the study of the Sacred Writings in the original languages. Bacon was suspected of magical arts and heresy, and was imprisoned in a monastery for ten years, but was temporarily released by Clement IV., to whom he sent his three encyclopædic works. He was imprisoned again in the time of Nicolaus III. (c. 1278), and was not finally liberated until Nicolaus IV., his former accuser, had become pope, when influential friends interposed on his behalf.⁴

5. *Richard Middleton, Doctor solidus* († c. 1300), was also a Franciscan. He lectured both at Paris and at

¹ Bacon, *Opus majus*, 18, 44; *Opus tertium*, 33, 55; *Compendium studii theologie*, lv. ; cited by Sandys, i. pp. 590 seq.

² Bacon, *Compendium studii philosophiae*, 434 seq.; *vide* Sandys, i. p. 594.

³ *Vide* edition of Nolan and Hirsch, London, 1902.

⁴ *Vide* preface to *Opus majus*, ed. Bridges, Oxford, 1897.

Oxford. His principal works are *Quæstiones super IV. libros Sententiarum*, and *Quodlibeta*. He was one of the best commentators of the Lombard, and follows him strictly. He was also a skilful interpreter of Scripture and was versed in canon law. His writings include commentaries on the Pauline Epistles and the Gospels, *De distinctione decreti*, and other lesser works. He was held in great esteem, and was described as *fundatissimus* and *copiosus*. A scholar of the fifteenth century calls him 'doctor profundus et magnæ autoritatis in scolis.' Martigné classes him with Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, and Duns Scotus as one of the four great teachers of the Franciscan order, and cites the Life of a Franciscan, a bishop of Toulouse, whose great-nephew was taught by Richard, in which he is described as 'doctor of the university of Paris, and one of the most learned theologians of the century.'¹

6. *Ægidius de Columna*, *Doctor fundatissimus* († 1316), a Roman, was a pupil of Thomas Aquinas, and an Augustinian monk. He studied and taught at Paris for many years, was made general of his order, 1292-1295, and archbishop of Bourges, 1296. He spent years in the papal court at Rome and Avignon, and is supposed to have written the bull *Unam sanctam*. His works include commentaries on the *Sentences*, on Romans and the Song of Songs; also a treatise, *De potestate ecclesiastica*.

8. In this period the Syrian Church produced a scholar of lasting importance, *Gregory, Bar-Hebræus*, physician, theologian and philosopher.

Bar-Hebræus (1226-1286) is described by Wright as 'one of the most learned and versatile men that Syria ever produced.'² He 'cultivated nearly every branch of

¹ *Vide* Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, ii. pp. 379 seq.

² Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 265 seq.

science that was in vogue in his time,' and wrote compendiums on many of them. His *Sapientia sapientiarum* is an encyclopædia, comprising 'the whole Aristotelian discipline.' He wrote commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen, grammatical works that are 'now well known and appreciated by Orientalists,' and verse that is still admired. His most important contribution to theology is *The Storehouse of Secrets*, 'a critical and doctrinal commentary on the text of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, based on the Peshitta, but taking note of the various readings of the Hebrew text, the Septuagint, and other Greek versions, the later Syriac translations, and even the Armenian and Coptic, besides noting differences of reading between the Nestorians and Jacobites.' His lesser works on theology include an anaphora, a confession of faith, and a *Nomocanon* of great authority in the Jacobite Church. His historical works are now of special importance. The *Universal History*, extending to 1286, has been brought by other writers down to the year 1496.

CHAPTER IV

THE DECLINE OF SCHOLASTICISM IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

AT the beginning of the century there were several great scholastics ; but they divided Scholasticism into different schools, and really gave the impulse to the decay that followed, by their criticism of the great scholastics of the previous century.

1. *Duns Scotus introduced the Scotist school of Scholasticism, characterised by criticism of traditional theories, and emphasis upon the will, divine and human.*

John Duns Scotus, Doctor subtilis (c. 1267-1308), was a native of England. He became a Franciscan, studied in Merton College, Oxford, and took his degrees of bachelor and doctor in Paris. He taught successfully in Oxford and Paris, and finally in Cologne, where he died at the age of about forty. His great work is *Opus Oxoniense*, a commentary on the *Sentences* of the Lombard, abridged in *Reportata Parisiensia*. He also wrote commentaries on Aristotle's *De anima*, and *Refutations*, and his treatises on physics, metaphysics, and meteorologics. His writings include also : *Grammatica speculativa* ; *Disputationes subtilissimæ* ; *Conclusiones metaphysicæ* ; *Quæstiones quodlibetales*, and other works.¹ He is the most hair-splitting of ecclesiastics, and raised a multitude of new questions ; and in his discussion of

¹ *Opera*, 12 vols., Lyons, 1639 ; 26 vols., Paris, 1891-1895.

the older ones questioned not a few of the traditional answers. As Seeberg says :

‘Characterising God as Will, and finding the essence of man’s nature also in his Will, he naturally emphasises the individual and his freedom in his view of humanity. Thus by his sharp criticism of traditional theories and by his bold creation of new terms and combinations, he set forces at work in the domain of theology which did much to prepare the way for the still more thoroughgoing criticism of the Reformers.’¹

2. William of Occam began as a Scotist, but subsequently made a new departure by the revival of Nominalism, which continued to influence theological education until after the Reformation.

William of Occam (c. 1280-1349) was born at Occam, in Surrey, England. He studied at Oxford and Paris, and became a Franciscan in early life. He taught at Paris for some years, and was made a provincial of his order (1322). A rigid advocate of poverty, the original principle of St. Francis, he was imprisoned and finally excommunicated for supporting Michael of Cesena in his attempts to reform the order. Occam began as a pupil of Duns Scotus, but subsequently made a new departure by his revival of Nominalism in a better form, which continued to influence theology until after the Reformation, and some schools even till the present day. Occam was known as the *Doctor singularis et invincibilis*. His writings include : (1) important philosophical works, the chief of which are an *Expositio aurea*, which gives ‘in the form of commentaries on Aristotle and Porphyry, Occam’s logic, epistemology and metaphysic,’² and *Summa logices*; (2) theological works : *Quæstiones et decisiones in IV libros sententiarum*, *Centiloquium theologicum*, *Quodlibeta VII*, *De corpore Christi*, *De sacramento altaris*, *De prædestinatione et futuris con-*

¹ Seeberg, ‘Duns Scotus,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Seeberg, ‘Occam,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

tingentibus ; (3) many practical works : in advocacy of poverty, the chief of which was *Opus nonaginta dierum* ; and in defence of the German emperor, Louis of Bavaria, against the intrusion of the pope, John XXII., into the domain of civil affairs. Seeberg says of Occam :

‘ His historical importance rests on three achievements in particular : he carried the banner of nominalism to victory in the philosophy of his age ; he encouraged the critical spirit in regard to traditional dogma, and taught men how to use it as a counterpoise to ecclesiastical positivism ; and he struck out a new line of thought as to the relations of temporal and spiritual authority of Church and State.’

He is said to have been ‘ the pioneer of modern epistemology.’¹ Luther called him ‘ my dear master,’ and declared : ‘ I am of the Occamist faction.’ Sandys follows Mullinger in the opinion :

‘ His chief service to philosophy is that “ he brought again to light . . . the true value of the inductive method, as auxiliary to the deductive.” ’²

Several other nominalists of the period may be mentioned : 1. *Durand of Saint Pourçain* (Porciano), *Doctor resolutissimus* († 1334), studied in the Dominican convent at Clermont, and then at Paris, where he became a teacher, and a doctor (c. 1312). He was made Master of the Sacred Palace at Avignon, and in 1326 bishop of Meaux. His principal work is a *Commentarius in IV libros sententiarum Lombardi*. Durand is usually classed as a nominalist ; but he was rather a critic, and independent in his judgment, mediating between Thomas Aquinas and Occam. He stated many opinions, which, if not heretical, tended that way ; but as they were tentative and subject to the authority of the Church, he escaped condemnation. He taught a kind of impanation or consubstantiation, in his doctrine of the Eucharist.

¹ Seeberg, ‘ Occam,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Sandys, i. p. 601.

2. *Franciscus de Mayronis*, *Doctor illuminatus* († c. 1325-1327), one of the principal pupils of Duns Scotus, taught theology in Paris early in the fourteenth century. His works include: *Commentaria in IV libros sententiarum*, printed at Venice¹ in the sixteenth century in many editions (1504 +); *Expositio in VIII libros Physicorum Aristotelis* (Venice, 1490, 1517); *Passus super universalia et prædicamenta Aristotelis* (Venice 1517, Boulogne 1479); commentaries on Anselm, Dionysius the Areopagite, and *Genesis*; *De divinorum nominum explanatione*, works on ethics, sermons, and many other writings.

3. *Petrus Aureolus*, a Franciscan and *Doctor fœcundus* († 1322), taught at Paris, became provincial of Aquitaine, and finally archbishop of Aix. He also began as a follower of Duns Scotus. His works include: *Commentarius in IV libros sententiarum* (Rome, 1596-1605), *Tractatus de conceptione Mariæ Virginis*, *Tractatus de paupertate*, *Breviarium Bibliorum*, *Quodlibeta*, *Postilla super Job*, *Isaiam prophetam*, and numerous other writings. Feret remarks: 'To judge by the printing of many of his works, and above all by the large number of editions of the *Breviarium Bibliorum*, the thinker in Pierre Auriol was esteemed no less by the following generations than by his cotemporaries.'²

4. *John Buridan* († after 1350), rector of the university of Paris, was a pupil of Occam, and 'one of the best known of the supporters of (his) revived nominalism.'³ He wrote a text-book on logic, and commentaries on various works of Aristotle, including his *Ethics*. Buridan is chiefly important in theology for his researches on the freedom of the will.

5. *Robert Holcot* († 1349), an English Dominican, taught theology at Oxford. He also is classed among

¹ Also *Conflatus*, Basle, 1489, Lyons, 1579.

² Feret, iii. p. 355.

³ Sandys, i. p. 603.

the nominalists, but he was rather an intermediate man. He wrote commentaries on the Minor Prophets and Proverbs, and also on the *Sentences*.

6. The last great nominalist was *Gabriel Biel* († 1495). He was born at Speyer, studied at Heidelberg, became a preacher at Mainz, and professor of theology and philosophy at the new university of Tübingen (founded in 1477). He too was a follower of Occam, and his chief work is *Epitome et collectorium ex Occamo super IV libros sententiarum*, 1495. He also wrote very influential practical works: *Lectura super canonem missæ*, 1488; *Expositio canonis missæ*, 1499; and *Sermones*, 1499. Late in life he joined the Brethren of the Common Life.

3. *Raymond Lully* was a Franciscan of another type, whose special service was the revival of the study of the Oriental languages and of comparative religion, connected with missionary effort.

Raymond Lully (c. 1232-1315) was born on the island of Majorca; and his life-work was from the Balearic Isles as a centre, although he taught in Paris, Montpellier, and elsewhere, and journeyed to Rome and other parts in the interest of his missions to the Moslems and the study of the languages of the East. He became a Franciscan in early life, and devoted himself to the study of physics, natural philosophy, and the Oriental languages. He wrote against Averroès' philosophy. His most important work is entitled *Ars magna*. This won him the title of *Doctor illuminatus*, and 'seemed to offer an easy road to the co-ordination of all sciences in one master science.'¹ Raymond greatly promoted the study of the languages of the East; and through his influence missionary colleges and professorships of Oriental languages were established at Avignon, Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca. He was one of the earliest writers on

¹ Zöckler, 'Lully,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Comparative Theology. He wrote : *Liber de quinque sapientibus*, a dialogue of disputation between a Roman, a Greek, a Nestorian, a Jacobite, and a Saracen ; also *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*, a discussion between a Pagan philosopher, a Jew, a Christian, and a Saracen. The former may be regarded as Comparative Theology, the latter as Comparative Religion. Raymond also wrote a number of practical and devotional works,¹ and still has a reputation among his countrymen as a poet.

4. The most influential Thomists of the period were *Hervæus Natalis* and *Thomas Bradwardine*.

The Dominican order continued to perpetuate the teachings of Thomas Aquinas. 1. *Hervæus Natalis* († 1323) studied at Paris, and taught there as doctor of theology. He was one of the most noted scholars of his time. He became a provincial of the Dominicans in 1309, and general of the order nine years later. He wrote : *In IV Petri Lombardi sententiarum volumina* (Venice 1505, Paris 1647), *Quodlibeta* (Venice 1486, 1513), *De intentionibus* (Paris, 1489, 1544), and many other works. Seeberg calls him 'a moderate Thomist, (who) distinguished himself by his opposition to the views of Duns Scotus.'²

2. *Thomas Bradwardine* (1290-1349) was both student and teacher at Oxford, and became archbishop of Canterbury, 1348. He was a Thomist, and especially an Augustinian ; and was called *Doctor profundus*. His great work was *De causa Dei contra Pelagium* (ed. Savile, 1618).

Two other Dominicans deserve special mention :

3. *Johannes Capreolus* (1380-1444) became a doctor of theology in Paris, where he explained the *Sentences*. He

¹ *Works*, Mainz, 1721-1748, in ten volumes, ed. Salzinger (vol. vii. and viii. not published) ; earlier edition, 1617, incomplete.

² Seeberg, 'Hervæus Brito,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

was called to Toulouse to preside over the *studium generale* of the Dominicans there. He wrote a commentary on the four books of *Sentences*, and *Defensiones theologiæ divi Thomæ* (Venice 1483-1484, 1514 +), which gained him the surname of 'the Prince of Thomists.'

4. *Juan de Torquemada* (Turrecremata) was born at Valladolid and died at Rome (1388-1468). He became a Dominican at sixteen, studied in the monastery of St. Jacques at Paris, and was licensed in theology, 1424. Returning to Spain, he was made prior in the convents first of Valladolid and then of Toledo. He became Master of the Sacred Palace of Eugene IV., in 1431, and an ardent defender of the papacy at the Council of Basle. Torquemada wrote many treatises upon the Church and the papacy after the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, and also upon the sacraments against the Hussites. He was made cardinal in 1439, and was active at the Council of Florence, having a hand in the composition of the decree of reunion. His writings cover a wide range, including works on the Scriptures, dogma, canon law, the sacraments, and practical Christianity. He was called 'the honour of his nation and of his order,' 'a luminary and a pillar' for 'the Church universal.'¹

5. *There was a great revival of mysticism in the fourteenth century in Eckhart, Tauler, Suso, and Ruysbræck.*

1. *Meister Eckhart* (c. 1260-1329) was a Dominican mystic. He studied at Erfurt and Cologne, and became prior at Erfurt and provincial of Thuringia. He went to Paris to study and lecture, and there took his degrees (1300-1303). He was made provincial of Saxony, and then vicar-general for Bohemia. In 1311 he was appointed to teach in Paris, and some years later he appears as teacher at Cologne. The mysticism of Eckhart was

¹ *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. p. 837; cited by Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iv. p. 336.

extreme and tended towards pantheism. He said and wrote many things that led to his condemnation by the archbishop of Cologne and finally by the pope, to whom he appealed. Twenty-six propositions were condemned as *Errores Ekardi*.¹ He is said to have submitted before his death. He was willing to admit the eternity of the world. The Christian may be converted into God just as the bread of the Eucharist is converted into the body of Christ. Whatever God gives to His only-begotten Son in human nature, all that He may give to the Christian. Whatever is proper to the divine nature, that is also proper to the just man. External acts do not make us good, but only interior acts. '*Si homo commisisset mille peccata mortalia, si talis homo esset recte dispositus, non deberet velle se ea non commisisse.*'²

There are in such statements as these pantheism and antinomianism, the forerunners of similar tendencies in modern times. Eckhart combined scholasticism with a mysticism run wild. The earlier mystics had been Franciscans. They were comparatively sober, and attached the mystic element to the scholastic theology. The later Dominican mystics tended towards heresy. Protestants ignore the heretical tendencies of these men, and regard them as 'preparing the way for the Reformation.' Eckhart was called by Hegel 'the father of German philosophy'; by Cruel, 'the boldest and most profound thinker the German pulpit has ever had.' According to Pfleiderer his spirit is 'the spirit of the Reformation, the spirit of Luther.'³

2. *John Tauler* (c. 1300-1361) was a Dominican of Strasburg. He is known to have come under the influence of the mystics Johann Sterngasser and Nicholas of Strasburg, possibly also of Eckhart and Suso. Little

¹ Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, pp. 141 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 501 *seq.*

³ *Vide* Schaff, v., ii. pp. 243, 248, 256.

is known about his life, and of the works ascribed to him only the Sermons, and a part of these, are certainly genuine. These have passed through many editions, the first being that of Leipzig, 1498. Tauler was more practical than Eckhart, but no less pantheistic and antinomian in his tendency. Yet his sermons have been great favourites with Christians of the mystic type. Beza called him a visionary; but Luther and Melanchthon praised him.¹

3. *Henry Suso* (1300-1366), 'the Swiss mystic,' was born on Lake Constance, became a Dominican at thirteen years, and studied at Strasburg and at Cologne. The greater part of his life was spent in the monasteries of his order at Constance and Ulm. In his twenty-eighth year he came under the influence of Eckhart. Suso and his writings were condemned as heretical also by a council of unknown date, but what he taught is not clear. *The Book of Truth* is a defence of Eckhart; *The Book of Eternal Wisdom* 'became one of the favourite books of meditation of the Middle Ages.'² Schaff quotes Denifle as calling it 'the consummate fruit of German mysticism.'³ Suso was beatified by Pope Gregory XVI.

4. *John Ruysbræck* († 1381) was prior of the regular canons at Gröndal, near Brussels. He was called *Doctor ecstaticus*. His works were written in Dutch, but translated into Latin by his pupils Jordæns and Groote. They include mystical, ethical, and monastic treatises, and a short exposition of the Athanasian Creed. Ruysbræck shows the influence of Eckhart, and was visited by Tauler. His pupil Groote founded the Brethren of the Common Life.

The greatest works produced by the mystics of this age are of uncertain authorship. 5. *The Imitation of*

¹ *Vide* Schaff, v., ii. p. 261.

² Cohrs, 'Suso,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

³ Schaff, v., ii. p. 266.

Christ has been attributed to Gerson, but is now generally supposed to be the work of *Thomas à Kempis* († 1471), to whom are ascribed other popular works, including meditations on the life of the Saviour and on the incarnation. Thomas was educated at the famous school at Deventer conducted by the Brethren of the Common Life, and is called a follower of Groote. Whatever may be thought of its authorship, *De imitatione Christi* takes rank with the *Confessions of St. Augustine* as a devotional book of the universal Church.¹

6. The unknown author of the *Theologia Germanica* has been called 'one of the Reformers before the Reformation.' Luther published this work in two editions (1516, 1518), the title of the second being: *Ein Deutsch Theologia*. He called it a 'noble little book,' in which he had found his God 'in the German tongue' as he had not 'found Him in the Latin and Hebrew tongues.'² It contains, however, pantheistic elements.

6. *The Eastern Church had also its great mystics at this period, chief among whom were Nicolas Cabasilas and Simeon of Thessalonica.*

1. *Nicolas Cabasilas*, archbishop of Thessalonica († c. 1371), was a cotemporary of Tauler; and as Adeney says, the two 'agree in their vital principles.'³ The great work of Cabasilas is *Concerning the Life of Christ*, in seven books. His writings include 'a mystical exposition of the Liturgy' and a philosophical work against scepticism.

2. *Simeon* († c. 1428), also archbishop of Thessalonica, was an influential writer and 'one of the chief mystagogic theologians of the later Greek Church.'⁴ His most important works were: *The Faith, the Rites, and the*

¹ *Vide Schaff, 'Kempis,' in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

² Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, v., ii. pp. 242, 293 seq.

³ Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 282.

⁴ Meyer, 'Simeon,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Mysteries of the Church, described by Adeney as 'a store-house of ecclesiastical archaeology';¹ and a dialogue *Against All Heresies*. He also wrote expositions of the Nicene Creed, and other treatises.

7. *The chief reforming movement in the fourteenth century was that of Wyclif.*

John Wyclif (c. 1325-1384) was born in Yorkshire and educated at Oxford, where he became a scholar of Balliol, and then master (c. 1360). He was interested in mathematics and natural science, as well as in philosophy and theology. He became a doctor of theology not later than 1372, and then gave lectures on theology. About two years later he was made rector of Lutterworth, Leicestershire, a living which he held until his death. Wyclif revived the study of the Scriptures, and sought a reformation of the Church, especially on the religious and ecclesiastical side. He was sustained and protected by John of Lancaster. His principal writing was his *Summa theologiæ*, which is strongly polemic in character. Like Bradwardine he was an Augustinian. He was, indeed, a realistic philosopher; but based himself chiefly on the Scriptures, and so received the title of *Doctor evangelicus*. With the help of his associates he translated the Latin Bible into English, assigning to himself the New Testament, and to his friend, Nicholas of Hereford, the Old Testament. The whole was revised in 1388 by John Purvey. Wyclif wrote:

'Christen men and women, olde and young, shulden study fast in the New Testament, and no simple man of wit shulde be aferde unmeasurably to study in the text of holy Writ. Pride and covetise of clerks is cause of their blyndness and heresie and priveth them fro verie understandyng of holy Writ. The New Testament is of ful autorite and open to understandyng of simple men, as to the pynts that ben most needful to salvation.'²

¹ Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 282.

² Cited by Schaff, v., ii. pp. 341 seq.

Wyclif opposed the abuse of the allegorical method of exegesis, and exalted the authority of the Scriptures above the authority of the Church. He made an all-important statement, which became the Puritan watch-word in later times: 'The Holy Spirit teaches us the sense of Scripture as Christ opened the Scriptures to His apostles.'¹

Wyclif established an order of poor preaching priests, who went about like the earlier Dominicans preaching to the people. These and their followers were called Lollards, and were speedily declared heretical. The reforming energies of Wyclif were at first directed against abuses of an ecclesiastical and economic kind; but his activities, like his writings, covered a wide range. The latter included: *De civili dominio*, *De officio regis*, *De incarcерандis fidelibus*, as well as sermons, polemic treatises, and the famous *Triologus*, *Dialogus*, and *Opus evangelicum*. According to his disciple Thorpe, 'from him one could learn in truth what the Church of Christ is, and how it should be ruled and led.'²

8. The reforming spirit was transferred from England to Bohemia through John Huss, who adopted essentially the teaching of Wyclif.

John Huss (1369-1415) was a native of Bohemia, and studied at the university of Prague, where he took his degrees. He was ordained priest in 1400, became dean of the philosophical faculty a year later, and rector of the university in 1402. A contest over the rival popes brought about a secession of the German professors and students in 1409. They removed to Leipzig, where a new university was established. Huss adopted the views of Wyclif, and his teaching spread with great rapidity all over Bohemia until the mass of the

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 455.

² Cited by Loserth, 'Wyclif,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Bohemians had become Hussites. The archbishop appealed to the pope, and Huss and his adherents were put under the ban. A civil war ensued, which lasted for a long time, even after the condemnation of Huss. He was summoned to the Council of Constance, and burned at the stake as a heretic; but he died protesting his innocence, saying: 'In the truth of the Gospel which I have written, taught, and preached, will I die to-day with gladness.' His writings are for the most part polemic. In his sermons he often reproduces Wyclif. In pastoral activity he was 'unsurpassed.'¹

The friend and follower of Huss, Jerome of Prague, was not long in sharing his fate. *Jerome* († 1416) studied in Prague, Oxford, Paris, Cologne, and Heidelberg. At Oxford he came under the influence of Wyclif, and carried back with him to Bohemia two of Wyclif's writings, the *Trialogus* and the *Dialogus*. He supported Huss in his attempts at reformation and in spreading the teachings of Wyclif, and remained true to both these masters until after the death of Huss. Then for a time his courage gave way; but at the close of a winter's imprisonment he defended both them and himself with great spirit before the Council. Bracciolini describes his bearing with great admiration, crying: 'He stood there fearless and unterrified, not alone despising death, but seeking it, so that you would have said he was another Cato. . . . I praise not that which he advanced, if anything contrary to the institutions of the Church; but I admire his learning, his eloquence, his persuasiveness of speech, his adroitness in reply. . . . Not Mutius himself suffered his arm to burn with such high courage as did this man his whole body. Nor did Socrates drink the poison so willingly as he accepted the flames.'²

He suffered on the very spot where Huss was burned.

¹ *Vide* Loserth, 'Huss,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Cited by Schaff, v., ii. pp. 390 seq.

9. *The study of the Scriptures was greatly promoted by Nicolaus de Lyra, Ludolph of Saxony and others.*

1. Nicolaus de Lyra (c. 1270-1340) was born at Lyre, France, and died at Paris. He was a Franciscan, and in 1325 was made a provincial of his order. He studied the Oriental languages as well as theology, and taught at the Sorbonne for many years. He spent his life in the study and exposition of the Scriptures, and thirty-eight years in writing his commentaries. He also wrote a commentary on the Lombard's *Sentences*, *Quodlibeta*, and three books against the Jews. His *Postillæ* are written in fifty books of running commentary on the whole Bible, including the Apocrypha; also thirty-five books of *moralia*. There are three prologues: (1) a eulogy of Scripture; (2) a study of method; (3) of the mystical meaning. Lyra mentions the four senses of Scripture, and then says:

‘All of them presuppose the literal sense as the foundation. As a building, declining from the foundation, is likely to fall; so the mystic exposition, which deviates from the literal sense, must be reckoned unbecoming and unsuitable.’

And yet he adds:

‘I protest, I intend to say nothing either in the way of assertion or determination, except in relation to such things as have been clearly settled by Holy Scripture on the authority of the Church. All besides must be taken as spoken scholastically and by way of exercise; for which reason, I submit all I have said, and aim to say, to the correction of our holy mother the Church.’¹

It is astonishing that Lyra accomplished so much while working within such limits. However, it is only in the field of the spiritual and practical interpretation of Scripture that the Church has ever claimed infallibility. It is certain that piety and communion with God are absolutely essential to an understanding of His Word.

¹ Nicolaus de Lyra. *Postillæ perpetuae*, prol. ii.; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 454.

To know the Bible it is necessary to know God and His Christ. The supreme interpreter of the Scriptures is the Holy Spirit. Lyra regarded the Church as more completely under the influence of the Spirit than any of its individual members. He therefore submitted all questions of faith and morals to the decision of the Church ; and, in so doing, was not disloyal to that fundamental principle, upon which the greatest leaders of the Church in all ages have acted, however defective their apprehension of it may have been.¹ He exerted a healthful, reviving influence on Biblical study, and is certainly the chief exegete of the Middle Ages. There is truth in the saying : ‘ If Lyra had not piped, Luther would not have danced.’² By Lyra and Wyclif the seeds of a new exegesis were planted, which burst forth into fruitful life at the Reformation.³

2. Next to Lyra may be mentioned the Carthusian, *Ludolph of Saxony*, who flourished c. 1330, and wrote a life of Jesus Christ, which became influential and so remained until after the Reformation. It was not an historical study, but was useful for ethical purposes. Ludolph also wrote *scholia* on the Psalms.

Among the other exegetes of the time may be mentioned : 3. *Peter Berchorius* († 1362), a French Dominican, who wrote *Opus reductorii moralis super tota biblia*, in thirty-four books. He urged tropology, or moral exposition.

4. *Peter Herentalius* († 1436), a native of Flanders, wrote *Catenæ* on the Psalms and the Gospels, taking as his model the *Glossa continua* of Thomas Aquinas on the Gospels.

5. *Alphonsus Tostatus* († 1455), lecturer at Salamanca, bishop of Avila, and lord high chancellor of Castile, was

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 484 seq., 660 seq.

² *Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset.*

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 455.

one of the most learned men of his time. He wrote a commentary on the greater part of the Bible, published at Venice 1728, in twenty-seven volumes folio, which is diffuse and dry, but learned. His Introduction to the Biblical writings, prefixed to the commentary on Matthew, is of little value.

Laurentius Valla († 1457) returned to the grammatico-historical method of exegesis. As a humanist he belongs rather to the Modern Age.¹

6. *Bernardine of Siena* († 1444), a Franciscan, and the first Vicar-general of the Observantists, was noted for his preaching, and was called by Pius II. a second Paul. In addition to sermons he wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse.

7. *Augustine of Rome* wrote commentaries on the Epistles of Paul, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse.

8. *Paulus Burgensis*, bishop of Burges († 1435), is described by Flügge² as a converted Jew who showed many traces of Jewish learning. He wrote *Additiones ad Nicolai Lyræ postillas in sacram Scripturam*.

9. *John Lattebur*, a Franciscan of England, wrote *Moralia super Threnos Jeremiæ*, and commentaries on Jeremiah, the Psalms, and the Acts.

10. Many universities were founded in the latter part of the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the early sixteenth centuries, the most important of which were in Germany and after the model of Paris.

In Germany were founded the universities of *Prague* (1348), *Vienna* (1365), *Heidelberg* (1386), *Cologne* (1388), *Erfurt* (1379-1392), *Würzburg* (1402-1582), *Leipzig* (1409), *Rostock* (1419), *Trèves* (1454-1473), *Greifswald* (1456),

¹ *Vide* pp. 87 f.

² Flügge, *Versuch einer Geschichte der theologischen Wissenschaften*, iii. p. 272.

Freiburg (1457), *Ingolstadt* (1459-1472), *Mainz* (1477), *Tübingen* (1477), *Wittenberg* (1502), and *Frankfurt* (1506).

In Italy were opened the universities of *Perugia* (1308) ; *Pisa* (1343), subsequently the university of the Florentine government ; *Pavia* (1361), which served for the Milanese ; *Ferrara* (1391), and *Turin* (1405).

France established those of *Avignon* (1303), *Cahors* (1332), *Grenoble* (1339), and *Orange* (1365), in the fourteenth century, and eight others in the fifteenth century.

In the Low Countries the university of *Louvain* was established in 1425.

In Switzerland was opened the university of *Basel*, 1459.

In Poland and Hungary were founded those of *Cracow* (1364-1397), *Fünfkirchen* (1367), and *Ofen Pest* (Budapest, 1476-1477).

In Spain a large number were founded, including those at *Lerida* (c. 1300), *Perpignan* (1349), *Huesca* (1359), *Barcelona* (1450), *Saragossa* (1474), *Palma* (1483), *Sigüenza* (c. 1489), *Alcalá* (1499), and *Valencia* (1500).

In Sweden a university was opened at *Upsala* (1477).

In Denmark one was established at *Copenhagen* (1478).

In Scotland three were founded : one at *St. Andrews* (1411-1413) ; one at *Glasgow* (1450) ; and one at *Aberdeen* (1494).

The greater universities had for the most part the four faculties : those of *arts*, in which instruction was based on Aristotle ; *medicine*, in which the chief textbooks were the works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna ; *law*, the study of which was based on civil and ecclesiastical canons, collected in the *Corpus juris canonici* ; and *theology*, based on the Lombard's *Sentences*.

According to Rashdall,

‘There were . . . in every university town, as in other important places, grammar schools proper. . . . In many cases . . . the university acquired jurisdiction over these schools. This

was the case in most German universities. In others they remained under the ecclesiastical inspection to which they had been subject before the rise of the university corporations. . . . The old ecclesiastical schools, in connection with cathedrals or other important churches, were not destroyed by the growth of the universities, and other schools of the same kind were founded from time to time. . . . In districts remote from universities there were ecclesiastical schools of a higher type. . . . In some countries the bulk of the inferior clergy must have received their education in such schools.'¹

Rogers says :

'I am convinced that [grammar schools] were attached to every monastery, and that the extraordinary number of foundation schools established just after the Reformation of 1547 was not a new zeal for a new learning, but a fresh and very inadequate supply of that which had been so suddenly and disastrously extinguished.'²

11. The conflicts between the rival popes involved all Europe in political and ecclesiastical confusion. The University of Paris, under the lead of the great mystics, D'Ailly and Gerson, led in an attempt at reform through oecumenical councils ; but they simply succeeded in strengthening the papacy, after the schism was healed.

The great schism in the papacy, which began in 1378 between Urban VI. and Clement VII., the former at Rome, the latter at Avignon, France, involved the whole of Europe in civil and ecclesiastical war, to the serious injury of religious and theological education. Various attempts to heal the schism were made from time to time ; until at last the chief civil governments, under the lead of the university of Paris, determined to bring it to an end. Three successive reforming Councils were held : those of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-1418), and Basel (1431-1443). These reforming Councils were ably and conservatively conducted ; but they could not

¹ Rashdall, ii. pp. 597, 601.

² Rogers, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages*, i. p. 165 ; *vide* Rashdall, ii. p. 600, n. 2.

succeed, because of the unwillingness of the papacy to be reformed, or to submit to the Councils, and because of the rivalry of the civil governments. The *Council of Pisa* deposed both of the rival popes, and elected a third ; but as neither of the rivals would yield, the result of this action was that three popes were in the field. The *Council of Constance* succeeded better in this regard. John XXIII. was deposed ; Gregory XII. resigned voluntarily ; and Benedict XIII. could be disregarded, as he was recognised only in Peniscola, a small town of Valencia, Spain. A new pope was elected (1417), under the name of Martin V. ; and apparently the schism was healed. This Council, however, disgraced itself by violating the safe-conduct of John Huss, and burning him at the stake. The new pope failed to carry out the reforms proposed by the Council ; and so, after his death, the *Council of Basel* was summoned to deal with his successor, Eugene IV. The Council suspended him in 1438, deposed him in 1439, and elected as pope Amadeus of Savoy under the name of Felix V. As Eugene would not submit, two rival popes were in the field. After his death the cardinals elected Nicolas V. (1447-1455), an exceedingly able, wise, and irenic pope, who soon persuaded Felix to resign, the Council to dissolve, and all Europe to unite under his jurisdiction. This reunion was celebrated by a Jubilee at Rome in 1450, which closes the period of the Middle Ages, leaving the papacy at the height of its supremacy over the world.

The most influential men in connection with the Council of Pisa were Petrus de Alliaco, bishop of Cambrai, and his pupil John Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris.

1. *Petrus de Alliaco* (Pierre D'Ailly, 1350-1420) was a student of theology at the university of Paris (1372), and lectured on the *Sentences* of the Lombard from 1375 onward. In 1380 he was made doctor of theology and

professor, four years later Director of the College of Navarre, and in 1389 chancellor of the university. Among his pupils were Gerson and Nicolaus Clémanges. He became bishop of Puy in 1395, of Cambrai in 1397, and cardinal in 1411. He wrote on many subjects, including: commentaries on the Song of Songs, and the Penitential Psalms; *Quæstiones super IV libros sententiæarum*, which were nominalistic; *De reformatiōne ecclesiæ*, and *De potestate ecclesiæ*. He was especially prominent at the Council of Constance, where he maintained the supreme authority of oecumenical councils. He also urged the cause of union in the papacy and the reformation of the Church. Yet he took an active part against heresy in the condemnation of John Huss. D'Ailly distinguished between the Bible and tradition, between pope and council; and as a nominalist was critical of Scholasticism, and especially of the exaggeration and abuse of dialectic, which had degenerated into mere sophistry. At the Council of Constance he 'urged the appointment of "institutores Rhétoricae et linguarum Græcæ et Latinæ."'¹

2. *John Gerson* (1363-1429) studied at Paris with Pierre D'Ailly for seven years, and succeeded him as professor of theology and chancellor of the university. He was called *Doctor christianissimus*. He sought to enrich scholasticism with mysticism, and wrote mystical and practical works, and commentaries on the Song of Songs, the Penitential Psalms, and the Lord's Prayer, with mystical, allegorical, and moral interpretations. He also wrote *Monotessaron*, a harmony of the Gospels, and *Propositiones de sensu literali sacræ Scripturæ et de causis errantium*, in which he states the principles of catholic hermeneutics over against the literalism of heretics. He wrote against the vain curiosity of the degenerate Scholasticism in matters of faith, and made

¹ Rashdall, i. p. 541, n. 1; citing Von der Hardt, i. iv. c. 427.

the profound statement that 'those who prefer the new works, conduct themselves after the manner of boys who eat the new and bitter fruits rather than the mature, digestible and healthful.'¹ In his tract *De modis uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam in concilio universalis* he takes a general view of the Church as consisting of all those who believe in Christ, 'be they Greeks or Latins or Barbarians.'² This larger Church he distinguishes from the particular Roman Catholic Church. Other works of importance were *De reformatione theologiæ*, *De unitate ecclesiastica*, *De auferibilitate papæ ab ecclesia*. Tritheimius at the close of the century called Gerson 'theologorum sui temporis longe princeps.'³

¹ Gerson, *Opera*, i. col. 119 *seq.*

³ Cited by Schaff, v., ii. p. 218.

² Gerson, *Opera*, ii. col. 161 *seq.*

PART II

THE MODERN AGE

CHAPTER I

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING

1. There was a preliminary revival of classical scholarship in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which tended to the corruption of life and manners in the direction of heathenism, and to the undermining of Christian life and education.

We have seen that the university of Paris grew out of the cathedral school, and that the other early universities of Northern Europe for the most part grew out of the migration of students and masters from Paris and Bologna, or the daughters of these universities. The inevitable result of the growth of the universities was the decline of the older cathedral schools ; for the best teachers and the most energetic scholars resorted to the universities by preference.

The establishment of the mendicant orders, the location of their chief seats at the universities, and their active, energetic life, replacing the older contemplative life of the Benedictines, drew the most vigorous of the young men to the new orders. The Benedictines declined in influence as the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and other friars increased in reputation. And so the monastic schools lost their importance, as

the mendicant orders established their schools in connection with the universities. Accordingly the universities became the great seats of theological as well as of philosophical and grammatical education ; and the cathedral and monastic schools were either discontinued, or reduced to small importance as mere grammar schools, or schools of piety, from which the best students went to the universities. The study of theology was practically given over to the mendicant orders, and especially to the Dominicans and the Franciscans, whose contests agitated the universities and the Church until the Reformation.

The study of theology at the universities was chiefly a study of the *Sentences* of the Lombard, elaborated by the great scholastics, Thomas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus and Occam, with their numerous disciples. The dogmas of Christianity were elaborated by the Aristotelian logic, and in accordance with the Aristotelian categories, into the most refined and hair-splitting definitions and speculations. The dogmas of Christianity became abstract dogmas, of little practical interest or importance, mere intellectual balloons, or castles in the air. The inevitable result was a barren and dead orthodoxy. The study of the Bible had been thrust into the background. It had become a preliminary study, leading up to the dogmatic system. The allegorical sense gave the dogmatic theologian whatever he wanted for his purpose.

The great teachers of Paris, especially Gerson and Clémanges, recognised and strove to overcome these evils. The latter says :

‘ I am astonished that the theologians of our time read so carelessly the pages of the divine Testaments, enfeebling their spirits by the research for sterile subtleties, and, to use the term of the Apostle, “ doting about questionings and disputes of words,”¹ that which is proper for sophists, but not for theologians. The Apostle indicates here the procedure of those men who leave the

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 4.

vigorous and fertile tree of the Holy Scriptures, and seek their nourishment in doctrine in desert and sterile places. It is there that they anguish, in other terms, that they suffer of fasting, die of hunger, because they find no fruit ; or if they encounter it, that fruit is like the apples of Sodom, which are beautiful and bright in appearance, but which at the touch resolve themselves into dust and smoke. Yes, at first sophisms appear beautiful, ingenious, penetrating, keen ; but, if you tear away the envelope of words to get at the fruit, it is nothing but smoke, because all is empty within.'¹

The most practical study of theology at the universities was that of canon law ; for this study involved the practice of law in the law-courts, and gave those skilled in it the highest places in Church and State.

Paris was the great school of Theology, Bologna the great school of Law, so recognised by the pope and the bishops for centuries. The Scholastic Theology and the Canon Law played into the hands of the pope and the curia.

There gradually arose, as we have seen, various movements for reform, chiefly on the practical side of the religious life or of religious institution, and through the revival of mystic theology ; but all of these movements failed for the time, though not without some good results. So far as theological education is concerned, they accomplished nothing of importance. The reforming movements did not go deep enough ; and they did not propose any thorough-going principle of reform, or find for it a sufficiently authoritative basis.

In the meanwhile divine Providence was preparing the way for the great Reformation in an extraordinary way and an unexpected manner, such as is usual with God, by the revival of classical scholarship and a return to Greek and Roman antiquity. This was brought about

¹ Clémanges, *De studio theologico*; *vide* D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, i. 476 ; Feret, *La Faculté de théologie de Paris*, iv. 19

in several ways, all of which conspired to the common end.

It is generally recognised at present that the revival of classical scholarship was led by two great literary men : *Petrarch* (1304-1374) and *Boccaccio* (1313-1375). These were especially interested in the literature of Rome and Greece. *Petrarch* has been called the 'first modern man.'¹ 'In a new age he was the first to recognise the supreme importance of the old classical literature'; he 'prepared the soil of Italy for the reception of Greek culture,' but he regarded 'the study of the classics as the handmaid of Christianity.'² *Boccaccio* was 'the first of modern men to study [classical] Greek in Italy, and indeed in Europe.'³ He learned his Greek from the pupils of the Calabrian monk Barlaam. Florence became the centre of a classical scholarship, which did not at first connect itself with the universities, but organised itself in associations or academies entirely apart from universities or organised schools. The new learning was at first acquired by private study, from private teachers, as in ancient times. The students of classical antiquity were known as *Humanists*. This classical revival at the beginning had nothing to do with theology ; its tendency was rather away from theology. Indeed for a long time it was demoralising to Christian theology, and really a revival of heathenism.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century there arose at Florence a reformer who 'represents a religious reaction against the pagan tendencies of some of the Humanists,' and who wrote a tract 'describing all learning as dangerous unless limited to a chosen few.'⁴ *Savonarola* (1452-1498) was a mystic of a different type from those of Paris. He was a preacher of repentance, and exposed from the pulpit the abuses existing among clergy and laity. He says of himself : 'I preach the regeneration of the Church, taking the Scriptures as my sole guide.' He complains :

¹ Renan, *Averroës*, p. 328 (ed. 1882).

² Sandys, ii. pp. 4 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

‘In the mansions of the great prelates there is no concern save for poetry and the oratorical art.’ ‘The theologians of our time . . . do not know a shred of the Bible; yea, they do not even know the names of its books.’¹ Savonarola claimed the gift of prophecy, and predicted ruin for the impenitent. Even his enemies saw in him a resemblance to John the Baptist. In his denunciations he spared neither Rome nor the papacy. When his own city, which had protected him, was threatened with the interdict, he prepared an appeal from the pope to an oecumenical council. His enemies, by challenging him to an ordeal of fire, succeeded in destroying his influence with the people; and they tortured him into a retraction. But like Jerome of Prague, he overcame his physical weakness and faced death with unflinching courage. At his deposition, when the officiating prelate declared: ‘Separo te ab ecclesia militante et triumphante,’ Savonarola cried: ‘Militante, non triumphante: hoc enim tuum non est.’ The *Meditations*, which he wrote in the intervals of torture, were translated and circulated in Germany, Spain, France, and England, as well as Italy. Luther published them with warm commendation.

2. The Council of Florence (1439), in the interest of the reunion of the Eastern Churches with the Western, brought a large number of Orientals to Italy, and resulted in a revived interest in the study of Theology, especially of Comparative or Irenic Theology.

The Council held at Ferrara in 1438, and removed to Florence in 1439, brought a large number of Greeks and Orientals to Italy in the interest of the reunion of the East and the West. Among them came a considerable number of learned men, who established themselves permanently in Italy. These scholars brought with them the Greek language and Greek literature. Students of theology learned to know the Greek Bible and the Greek Fathers; students of philosophy read Plato and Aristotle in the original. The Latin Church became once more acquainted with the Greek and Oriental Churches.²

¹ *Vide* Schaff, vol. v. part ii. pp. 688 *seq.*

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 142, 154.

Of these Eastern scholars the chief were :

(1) *Bessarion* (c. 1395-1472), archbishop of Nicæa, who for his services in behalf of reunion was made cardinal, and so spent his last years in Italy. He surrounded himself with numbers of Greek scholars, and became a great patron of classical learning.

(2) Another of these learned Greeks was *Theodore of Gaza* (1400-1475), the first professor of Greek at Ferrara, who also taught philosophy in Rome. He wrote a Greek grammar, which was used as a text-book in Paris, Cambridge and Germany. Among his pupils was the great German Humanist, *Rudolphus Agricola*.

(3) *Argyropulos* of Constantinople (1416-1486) taught first at Padua, then at Florence, and finally in Rome, where he became the instructor of the famous German, *Reuchlin*, concerning whom he exclaimed : 'Lo ! Greece through our exile has flown across the Alps.'¹ He became noted for his translations of Aristotle.

(4) *Gemistos Plethon* of Constantinople (c. 1356-1450) was one of the champions of the Greek Church at the Council of Florence. He taught the Platonic philosophy in Florence, and renewed the struggle between Plato and Aristotle.

The Greeks in Italy were divided between these two philosophers, and a great controversy arose as to their relative merits. The result was an increasing attention to Plato among the Humanists, and an increasing desire to get rid of the dominant Aristotelian Scholasticism.

The study of the classics carried with it the study of Christian antiquity and the rise of historic investigation.

The most important scholar in this regard was *Laurentius Valla* (1407-1457).

Valla became the father of historical criticism. He was trained in Humanistic studies, and, while professor of rhetoric at the university of Pavia, wrote *Quæstiones dialecticæ* and *De elegantiis latini sermonis*, works characterised by Wagenmann as 'Humanism's open declaration of war' against the logic and the Latin of the Schools.² The treatise on Latin passed through fifty-nine editions in the years 1471-1536. 'In his treatise on Dialectic he denounces the mediæval Aristotelians, Avicenna

¹ *Vide* Sandys, ii. p. 64.

² Wagenmann, 'Laurentius Valla,' in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*.

and Averroës, and attacks the philosophers of his time for their belief in the infallibility of Aristotle.¹ The philosophers, theologians and jurists all rose up in arms, and Valla left Pavia. Some years later he entered the service of the Humanist, Alfonzo, king of Aragon and Sicily (c. 1435). During this period of his life he investigated the sources of Canon Law, and proved that the so-called *Donation of Constantine* was a pseudonymous work of much later date. He also produced a *Collatio Novi Testamenti*, first published by Erasmus (1505), who praises the 'remarkable sagacity' with which Valla has 'examined the whole New Testament,' and considers him 'unrivalled both in the sharpness of his intelligence and the tenacity of his memory.'² About the year 1445 Valla opened a school of Greek and Latin literature in Naples, and attracted a multitude of students. Two or three years later Pope Nicholas v. made him *scriptor apostolicus*. In 1450 he became also professor of rhetoric in Rome, and under Calixtus III. (1455) papal secretary. In addition to numerous translations from the Greek, his works include the famous *Elegantiae* and *Declamatio*, and several influential treatises on Ethics. Luther declares that 'the like of (Valla) neither Italy nor the whole Church produced in many centuries.'³ 'Laurencius Valla ist der best wahl, den ich mein lebttag gesehn oder erfahren hab. De libero arbitrio bene disputat.'⁴ Erasmus wrote: 'Where is the man whose heart is so narrowed by jealousy as not to have the highest praise for Valla, a man who with so much energy, zeal and labour refuted the stupidities of the Barbarians, saved half-buried letters from extinction, restored Italy to her ancient splendour of eloquence, and forced even the learned to express themselves henceforth with more circumspection?' To strike at Valla is to wound 'all men of letters.' He is 'eloquent above all others,' and 'has been rightly called "The Marrow of Persuasion."'⁵

3. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 drove large numbers of learned Greeks into exile in Italy, and other parts of the West, where they greatly increased the knowledge of Greek literature, both classical and theological.

Students of classical antiquity resorted to Italy from

¹ Sandys, ii. p. 67.

² Erasmus, *Epp.* 21, 182.

³ Benrath, 'Valla,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁴ Preger, *Tischreden Luthers*, 287.

⁵ Erasmus, *Epp.* 26, 27.

all over Europe to acquire the new learning, and they carried it back with them to their native lands. Thus Humanism spread rapidly as a new intellectual force throughout the West.

Erasmus expressed the conviction of many when he said :

‘ Latin erudition, however ample, is crippled and imperfect without Greek. We have in Latin at best some small streams and turbid pools, while they have the clearest springs and rivers flowing with gold. I see it is the merest madness to touch with the little finger that principal part of theology which treats of the divine mysteries, without being furnished with the apparatus of Greek.’ ‘ They have neither sense nor shame who presume to write upon the Sacred Books, or indeed upon any of the books of the ancients, without being tolerably furnished in both literatures.’¹

Among the exiles from Constantinople came also learned men from among the Jews and the Oriental Churches, who introduced the study of Oriental languages, especially Hebrew. The Hebrew Bible, the Talmud and the Jewish commentators began to be studied by Christian scholars.

4. *The spread of the new learning was greatly aided by the invention of printing at Mainz in 1440.*

Printing was introduced into Italy by two of the workmen of Fust the inventor, who set up a press at Subiaco in 1465, and then at Rome in 1467. The great printing press of Italy, however, was the *Aldine* at Venice, established in 1494, and sustained by the ‘ New Academy ’ of Hellenists which was founded in 1500 by Aldus Manutius. This society proposed to print each month an edition of at least 1000 copies of some good author.

‘ By the year 1500 about 5000 books had been produced in Italy, of which about 300 belong to Florence and Bologna, more than 600 to Milan, more than 900 to Rome, and 2835 to Venice.’²

¹ Erasmus, *Epp.* 143, 182.

² Sandys, ii. p. 97.

Erasmus testifies to the liberality of the Italians, and especially of Aldus, in matters of literature ; saying :

‘ When I, a Hollander, was publishing in Italy my work on Proverbs, all the learned who were within reach, came forward to supply me with the authors, not yet printed, that they thought likely to be of use to me. Aldus had nothing in his treasures which he did not place at my service. . . . I was assisted by some whom I knew neither personally nor by name.’¹

5. Humanism found an early entrance into the Netherlands by attaching itself to the mystic tendency of the Brethren of the Common Life.

Gerhard Groote (1340-1384) and Florentius Radewyns (1350-1400) founded the Brotherhood of the Common Life, which established schools for moral and religious education in the Netherlands and in Northern Germany. The instruction given was based upon the study of the Latin language. This led to a revival of the study of the Latin classics in these schools.

Nicolaus Cusanus and John Wessel were trained in them, and both added Greek and Hebrew to their Latin, and gathered ancient manuscripts.

Nicolaus of Cusa (1401-1464) was trained in Law, Mathematics and Astronomy, as well as Theology and Philosophy. He belonged to the Mystics who sought the reformation of the Church, and wrote *De concordantia catholica*. Like Gerson he subordinated the pope to the oecumenical council. In his work, *De docta ignorantia*, he criticised the scholastic method.

John Wessel (1420-1489) was noted for breadth of interest and a spirit of inquiry, that won for him the name *magister contradictionum*. Rudolphus Agricola and John Reuchlin studied with him before going to Italy to enlarge their knowledge of Greek.

6. Erasmus summed up in himself all that was best in Humanism, and by his editions of the Greek Testament and of the Fathers gave a basis of authority, Biblical and Patristic, for the reformation of the Church.

¹ Erasmus, *Adagia* ; vide Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, i. pp. 437 seq.

The most distinguished of the pupils of the Brethren of the Common Life was *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (1466-1536). He received his primary education among the Brethren at Deventer and Bois-le-Duc, and in 1487 entered the Augustinian monastery near Gouda, where he remained a close student for ten years. The bishop of Cambrai then sent him to Paris, where he studied and taught in the university. He devoted special attention to Greek, and wrote :

‘ My Greek studies are almost too much for my courage ; while I have not the means of purchasing books, or the help of a teacher.’ Again he says : ‘ I have been applying my whole mind to the study of Greek ; and as soon as I receive any money, I shall first buy Greek authors, and afterwards some clothes.’ He complains of ‘ a great penury of books ; leisure none ; health infirm ; ’ yet declares : ‘ My whole soul is bent on acquiring the most perfect learning, and hence I have a supreme disregard for learning of a trivial kind.’

‘ I am determined that it is better to learn late than to be without the knowledge which it is of the utmost importance to possess.’ ‘ I began to look at Hebrew, but frightened by the strangeness of the idiom, and in consideration of my age and of the insufficiency of the human mind to master a multitude of subjects, I gave it up.’

In his enthusiasm he declares :

‘ If there is any fresh Greek to be bought, I had rather pawn my coat than not get it ; especially if it is something Christian, as the Psalms in Greek or the Gospels.’¹

Erasmus travelled about from university to university in France, England, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, in the interests of higher scholarship ; and became the greatest scholar of his age. He paid several visits to England, and the English Humanists, Colet and Sir Thomas More, became his devoted friends. Both the great universities ‘ sought to have ’ him, and he ‘ spent several months at Cambridge teaching Greek and

¹ Erasmus, *Epp.* 112, 113, 139, 143, 156, 180.

Divinity.'¹ The latter part of his life was passed chiefly in Basel, and most of his works appeared from the famous press of Froben. Erasmus sought and obtained release from his monastic vows, and came into conflict with the monks in the interests of learning. He ardently espoused the cause of classic scholarship and of the study of the Fathers, as over against mediæval scholarship and the ignorance of the religious orders of his time. His editions of the Greek Testament, and of many of the Fathers, laid a basis for sound scholarship. He says himself :

'Many are induced to study the Sacred Writings, who would otherwise never have read them, as they themselves admit ; and a great many have begun to study Greek ; indeed, that is going on everywhere.'²

He regarded himself as called to do 'the humblest part of the work' to be done for theology, and says :

'I wanted to construct a road for other persons of higher aims, so that they might be less impeded by pools and stumbling blocks in carrying home those fair and glorious treasures.'³

The works of Erasmus include editions or translations of many of the greatest authors of the Christian and classical world. Of his original works the best known are his famous satire *Morice encomium*, the *Colloquies*, letters, treatises on education, and on the Greek and Latin languages, the *Enchiridion militis christiani* and its companion *Institutio principis christiani*, and *Ecclesiastes*, which emphasises the prophetic function of the Christian ministry.

There are countless testimonies from his contemporaries to the unique place held by Erasmus. Reuchlin writes from Germany : 'You alone bring us back some image of the ancient eloquence ; the rest of us are a mob.' More writes from England concerning his *Utopia* : 'I want to know whether Tunstall approves, and Busleiden, and your Chancellor . . . but your vote alone will

¹ Erasmus, *Ep.* 290.

² *Ibid.*, 400.

³ *Ibid.*, 522.

be abundantly sufficient for my judgment. We two are to my mind a multitude, as I think I could live happily with you in any solitude.' Henry of Glarus cries: 'It was a great thing to have learned morality from Socrates . . . but I have received much more from you. Besides innumerable other benefits, the chief is this: that you have taught me to know Christ, and not to know Him only, but to imitate, to reverence and to love Him.'¹ Watson writes: 'You are celebrated everywhere in Italy, especially among the learned of the highest note. . . . Your fame is spread throughout all the Christian world. . . . Wherever you are, you so live as to seem present everywhere in Christendom, and will continue to live by the immortality of your fame and the noble monuments you will leave behind you. By your correction of the New Testament accompanied by your notes, you have thrown a marvellous light on Christ, and deserved well of all His zealous followers.'² But Erasmus says: 'For myself I think nothing settled, unless I have the approval of Christ, on whose single vote all our felicity depends.'³ 'Huc discuntur disciplinæ, huc philosophia, huc eloquentia, ut Christum intelligamus, ut Christi gloriam celebremus. Hic est totius eruditio[n]is et eloquentiæ scopus.'⁴

Erasmus worked for a reform of the Church, especially on the side of learning and morals; and he, like most of the Humanists, finally opposed Luther and the other Reformers, in the interests of learning and the unity of the Church. His dread of a conflict in the Church may be gathered from the fervour of his appeal against national strife for those 'who glory in the name of Christ, of a Master who taught and exhibited nothing but gentleness, who are members of one body, and are one flesh, quickened by the same Spirit, fed by the same sacraments, attached to the same Head, called to the same immortality, hoping for that highest communion, that as Christ and the Father are one, so we may be one with Him.'⁵

¹ *Vide* Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. pp. 276, 386, 426 seq.

² *Vide* Nichols, *ibid.*, ii. pp. 334 seq.

³ Erasmus, *Ep.* 184.

⁴ Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*; *vide* Woodward, *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education*, p. 59.

⁵ Erasmus, *Ep.* 281.

7. *The Humanists of France were more of the Italian type. Their chief theologian Clémanges combined mystic with humanistic studies.*

The earliest French Humanist was *Jean de Montreuil* (1354-1418), who had, however, no position as a teacher.

Nicolas de Clémanges (c. 1367-1437), his friend, was the first great Humanist of France. He was educated in the university of Paris, at the college of Navarre, by *Pierre D'Ailly* and *Gerson*; and taught rhetoric there. In 1393 he became rector of the university, and, four years later, papal secretary under *Benedict XIII.* But in 1408 he retired to a Cistercian cloister, and gave himself to Biblical study, which he felt had been neglected. In his work *De studio theologicō* he exalts the parish priest above the student, yet recommends the study of theology and especially of the Scriptures. He felt the influence of the Italian Humanists. In 1425 he returned to Paris to teach rhetoric and theology in the college of Navarre. Clémanges was influential in the calling of the Council of Constance, but disappointed and displeased with its final action as to the papacy. Like his masters, D'Ailly and Gerson, he was opposed to the sophistry of the time. These three great mystics were sound in their mysticism, and emphasised direct communion with God and the Christian life. Like Erasmus they worked for reform as middle men, and accomplished more than is recognised. All three have been neglected by both Protestants and Catholics—by the latter because, in the three reforming councils which they dominated, they exalted the authority of the oecumenical council above that of the pope. Among the writings of Clémanges may be mentioned the tracts, *De ruina ecclesiæ*, *De corrupto ecclesiæ statu*, *De fructu rerum adversarum*, and his letters to D'Ailly, Gerson and others.

The first scholar officially appointed to teach classical Greek in Paris was *Gregorio Tifernas* († 1466). He was followed in 1476

by *Heronymus*, the 'somewhat incompetent' instructor of Reuchlin, Erasmus and Budæus. *Aleander* was introduced there by Erasmus (1508), and became rector of the university in 1512, librarian of the Vatican in 1517, and finally a cardinal.

The greatest French Humanist was *Budæus* (1467-1540), who won from Italy the supremacy in classical scholarship. Calvin calls him: 'primum rei literariae decus et columen.' His influence secured the establishment of the Corporation of the Royal Readers (1530), which developed into the *Collège de France*. Sandys regards this foundation as 'perhaps his most important, certainly his most permanent, service to the cause of scholarship.'¹

Faber Stapulensis, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (†1536), Humanist, philosopher, and theologian, was influential as a teacher in Paris. He is praised by Sir Thomas More 'as the restorer of true Dialectic and true Philosophy, especially that founded upon Aristotle,' and by Erasmus for his work on the New Testament.² He published *Psalterium quintuplex* (1509), French versions of the New Testament (1523), and the *Psalter* (1525), and finally one of the entire Bible (1530), which served as a basis for the better known version of Olevitan (1535). *Stapulensis* also produced commentaries on the Scriptures and on Aristotle, and Latin translations of the Fathers and the Mystics. In the preface to his commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, he maintained the authority of the Scriptures and urged a reform of the Church.

8. Humanism made its way into Germany and German universities. The earliest representatives were *Æneas Sylvius* and *Regiomontanus*. The chief German Humanist, however, was *Reuchlin*, who laid the foundation for the study of the Old Testament in Hebrew.

1. *Æneas Sylvius de Piccolomini* (1405-1464) 'represented Italian Humanism in Vienna (1442-1455),' and won 'the gratitude of Germany for the teaching and the example which had led that land to admire the studies of Humanism.'³ As Pope Pius II. (1458) he collected many valuable manuscripts and encouraged all the arts.

2. *Regiomontanus* (1436-1476), archbishop of Ratisbon,

¹ Sandys, ii. pp. 172 seq.

² *Vide Nichols, Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. pp. 224, 327.

³ *Vide Sandys*, ii. p. 251.

was a friend of Bessarion, and taught and translated both Greek and Latin works.

We may quote the summary statement of Sandys as to the different classes of Humanists in Germany :

‘The Humanists of Germany may be divided into three successive schools distinguished from one another in their relation to the Church. (1) The *Earlier* or *Scholastic* Humanists, who were loyal supporters of the Church, while they were eager for a revival of classical learning, and a new system of education. They are represented by the three great teachers of North Germany, Rudolfus Agricola, Rudolf von Langen, and Alexander Hegius ; also by Wimpfeling, the restorer of education in South Germany ; by Trithemius, one of the founders of the Rhenish Society of Literature ; and by Eck, the famous opponent of Luther. They worked for the Revival of Learning in all branches of knowledge, while they hoped that the new learning would remain subservient to the old theology. (2) The *Intermediate* or *Rational* Humanists, who took a rational view of Christianity and its creed, while they protested against the old scholasticism, and against the external abuses of the Church. “They either did not support Luther, or soon deserted him, being conscious that his movement would lead to the destruction of all true culture.” Their leaders were Reuchlin and Erasmus, and Conrad Muth, the Canon of Gotha. “Their party and its true work of culture were shipwrecked by the tempest of the Reformation.” (3) The *Later* or *Protestant* Humanists, who were ready to “protest” against everything—young men of great talent, but of less learning, whose love of liberty sometimes lapsed into licence. Their leading spirit was Ulrich von Hutten. In course of time, some of them became Rational Humanists ; others, supporters of Luther. “While Erasmus, Reuchlin and Muth viewed Luther’s propaganda with distrust,” these younger Humanists “flocked to the new standard of protest and revolt, and so doing brought culture into disgrace and shipwrecked the Revival of Learning in Germany.” “The revolt of Luther caused the Church to reject Humanism, and was the deathblow of the Erasmian Reformation.”’¹

This last statement, however, is rather extreme and unfair to the Reformers, who counted on their side one

¹ Sandys, ii. pp. 258 seq., citing Pearson, *The Ethic of Free Thought*, pp. 166 seq.

of the greatest of the Humanists, Melanchthon, the 'Preceptor of Germany,' Camerarius, John Sturm, and many others.

3. *Rudolphus Agricola* (1444-1485) was trained at Deventer, Erfurt, Louvain, Cologne, Pavia, and Ferrara; and taught at Heidelberg. He learned Greek of Theodorus Gaza, and in his last years studied Hebrew. He is said to have been to Germany what Petrarch was to Italy, and was called by his contemporaries 'a second Virgil.'¹

4. *Hegius* (1433-1498) 'made the school of Deventer the great educational centre of North Germany.'² In his time 'the number of scholars rivalled those of a university, amounting, it is said, at one time to 2200.'³ Erasmus writes of Agricola as 'the preceptor of my schoolmaster, Alexander Hegius, himself no degenerate disciple of such a master.'⁴

5. *Jacob Wimpeling* (1450-1528) studied at Schlettstadt, Freiburg, Erfurt, and finally at Heidelberg, where he afterwards (1498) became a professor and lectured on Jerome. At Strasburg and other cities he founded societies of literature. Through these as well as through his text-books and treatises on education he became widely influential in promoting liberal learning and improved methods of instruction. His numerous writings include works on theology, and he laboured for the Church as well as for the school. Erasmus calls him 'the chief man of letters in his country, and the high priest of every Humanity.'⁵

6. *Johannes Trithemius* (1462-1516), abbot of Sponheim, transformed his monastery into a centre of learning and gathered a great library there. He was a student of Hebrew and Greek, and of the natural sciences; but

¹ *Vide* Pearson, *The Ethic of Free Thought*, p. 173.

² Sandys, ii. p. 255.

³ Nichols, *Epist. Erasm.*, i. p. 17.

⁴ Erasmus, *Ep.* 22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 298.

exalted theology above them all, and urged theologians to study the Scriptures.

7. *Reuchlin* (1455-1522) was trained in law, philosophy, and 'the three languages,' and studied at Schlettstadt, Freiburg, Paris, Basel, Orléans, Poitiers, Florence, and Rome. Greek he learned of native Greeks; Hebrew of John Wessel and Jewish Rabbis. He published a Greek grammar, and a Latin lexicon that passed through many editions. He laid the foundation for Hebrew scholarship among Christians by publishing the first Hebrew grammar and lexicon, combined in the work *De rudimentis hebraicis* (1506).¹ Twelve years later he brought out a treatise *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicæ*. He also studied Rabbinical literature, and wrote on the cabala. There was a stiff battle in Germany between the Humanists and the Obscurantists about Reuchlin and the study of the Hebrew language and the Jewish Talmud. Erasmus wrote to Raphael, the cardinal of St. George :

'I do most earnestly beseech and adjure you for the sake of good letters . . . that that distinguished man, Doctor John Reuchlin, may enjoy your protection and goodwill. . . . He is one to whom all Germany is indebted, having been the first to arouse in that country a love of Greek and Hebrew literature.'²

To Reuchlin Erasmus wrote :

'When I read your apology, composed with so much spirit and eloquence, and such an exuberance of learning, I seemed to myself to be listening not to a culprit making his defence, but to a conqueror celebrating his triumph.'³

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, says of Reuchlin :

'He appears to me to hold the palm over all living authors, whose works I have read, in the treatment of abstruse questions of Theology and of Philosophy.'⁴

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 140 seq.

² Erasmus, *Ep.* 319.

³ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁴ *Vide* Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. p. 292.

8. *Mutianus*, Conrad Muth of Erfurt (c. 1471-1526), a schoolmate of Erasmus at Deventer, was the chief of the group of Humanists which produced the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, a series of satires which threw their opponents into confusion and contempt. The first volume was mainly composed by Johann Jäger (*Crotus Rubeanus*), the second by *Ulrich von Hutten* (1488-1523), 'the stormy petrel' of the German Reformation.¹ Cologne was the chief seat of the opponents of Humanism, Erfurt of its friends.

9. *Johann von Staupitz* († 1524), the first dean of the theological faculty at Wittenberg, became vicar-general of the German Augustinians, and the teacher of Luther and his counsellor in the early stages of his reform. He was a man without stain and above reproach, a saint in the estimation of Protestant and Catholic alike, an apostle of love and good works. He ranks with Erasmus and Sir Thomas More among those irenic spirits that sought a reform of the Church from within.² Luther was strongly influenced by his practical mysticism and calls him his 'reverend father in Christ,' 'per quem primum cœpit Evangelii lux de tenebris splendescere in cordibus nostris.'³ His chief mystic works are *Von der Nachfolgung des willigen Sterbens Christi*, *Von der Liebe Gottes*, and *Von dem heiligen rechten christlichen Glauben*.

9. *Humanism in England was represented chiefly by Linacre, Sir Thomas More, and Colet.*

Sandys says that 'Modern English scholarship begins with Linacre and his two friends, William Grocyn and William Latimer.'⁴ These introduced the humanistic classic study into the British universities.

¹ Lindsay, *History of the Reformation in Germany*, p. 75.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, p. 420.

³ *Vide* Schaff, vol. vi. p. 119, n. 1.

⁴ Sandys, ii. p. 228.

1. *Thomas Linacre* (c. 1460-1524) was a nephew and pupil of William Selling, the first English Humanist to study Greek. Linacre studied at Oxford, and became Fellow of All Souls (1484). A year or two later he went to Italy, studied with Humanists in Rome, Florence, and Venice, and graduated in medicine at Padua (1492). Returning to England he gave lectures on Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, which were attended by Sir Thomas More, either at Oxford or London. In 1509 he was appointed physician to King Henry VIII., and nine years later he founded the College of Physicians. In addition to his scientific treatises and translations he wrote *De emendata structura latini sermonis*, which was reprinted on the continent with a letter of recommendation by Melanchthon.

2. *John Colet* (c. 1467-1519) studied at Oxford, and then for three years in Italy, where he learned the rudiments of Greek. Returning to Oxford he introduced there the study of Plato, and gave lectures on the New Testament 'like one inspired.'¹ Among his hearers were all the doctors of Oxford.² At this time Erasmus visited Oxford, and became his intimate friend. In 1504 Colet was made dean of St. Paul's, London, where he introduced expository preaching, and founded a great school. According to Erasmus, Colet united 'the highest learning with admirable piety,' and 'exerted a great and general influence.' England had not 'another more pious, or one who more truly knew Christ.' When he died, Erasmus exclaimed: 'What a man England has lost, and I—what a friend!'³ Colet's tract, *A Right Fruitful Admonition concerning the Order of a Good Christian Man's Life*, was first published in 1534, and afterwards incorporated in a book of *Daily Devotions*.

¹ *Vide* Plummer, *English Church History, 1509-1575*, p. 29.

² *Vide* Erasmus, *Epp.* 108, 290.

³ *Vide* Schaff, v., part ii. p. 652.

3. *Thomas More* (1478-1535) studied at Oxford, and then went to London for the study and practice of law. He became the most able and learned jurist of his time ; but was also interested in theology, and lectured in London on Augustine's *City of God*. In 1529 More succeeded Wolsey as Lord Chancellor. Five years later he was sent to the Tower, and in 1535 was beheaded. Erasmus writes of yielding to the influence of

' Thomas More, whose eloquence is such that he could persuade even an enemy to do whatever he pleased, while my own affection for the man is so great, that if he bade me dance a hornpipe, I should do at once just as he bade me. . . . I do not think, unless the vehemence of my love leads me astray, that Nature ever formed a mind more present, ready, sharp-sighted, and subtle, or, in a word, more absolutely furnished with every kind of faculty than his. Add to this a power of expression equal to his intellect, a singular cheerfulness of character and an abundance of wit, but only of the candid sort ; and you miss nothing that should be found in a perfect advocate.'¹

More maintained the rights of the crown of England over against papal encroachment, and the rights of the pope as the supreme head of the Church over against the royal ecclesiastical supremacy. He died a martyr to the great cause of the separation of the jurisdictions of Church and State. More's great work is his *Utopia*, in which he embodies his ideas of reform. Among his writings are controversial tracts against Luther and Tyndale.

4. *John Fisher*, bishop of Rochester († 1535), was trained at the university of Cambridge, and served there as master, vice-chancellor, professor of divinity and chancellor. He took part in the establishment of Christ's College and St. John's, and was president of Queens' College for a time. Erasmus calls him 'that great chieftain of literature and piety.'² Fisher admired Reuchlin and Erasmus, but wrote against Luther and

¹ Erasmus, *Ep.* 191.

² *Vide* Erasmus, *Ep.* 446.

Æcolampadius. As an opponent of the royal supremacy he shared the fate of More.

The English Humanists, like the Continental, desired a peaceable reform by education, not a revolution. They were in general accord with Erasmus, who wrote of them :

‘ I have found in England . . . so much learning and culture, and that of no common kind, but recondite, exact and ancient, Latin and Greek, that I now hardly want to go to Italy, except to see it. When I listen to my friend Colet, I can fancy I am listening to Plato himself. Who can fail to admire Grocyn, with all his encyclopædic erudition ? Can anything be more acute, more profound, more refined, than the judgment of Linacre ? Has nature ever moulded anything gentler, pleasanter or happier, than the mind of Thomas More ? ’¹

These men wished a reform through a study of the original Scriptures and the Fathers.

Among the Humanists of England who sought to promote theological education were also :

5. *Cardinal Wolsey* († 1530), founder of Christ Church (College), Oxford ; 6. *Warham*, archbishop of Canterbury († 1532), whom Erasmus praised as ‘ the patron of all the learned ’ ;² and 7. *Richard For*, of Winchester († 1528), founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and of the first Greek lectureship in an English university.³ Sir Thomas More saw no reason to prefer the universities of Paris and Louvain to those of Oxford and Cambridge.⁴ Erasmus wrote in 1516 : ‘ About thirty years ago nothing was taught at Cambridge but Alexander, the *Parva Logica*lia, as they are called, those old “dictates” of Aristotle, and questions from Scotus. In process of time Good Letters were introduced ; the study of Mathematics was added, and a new or at least a renovated Aristotle. Then came some acquaintance with Greek, and with many authors, whose very names were unknown to the best scholars of a former time. Now I ask, what has been the result to the University ? It has become so flourishing, that it may vie with the first schools of the age, and possesses men, compared with whom those old teachers appear mere shadows of theologians.’⁵

¹ *Vide* Sandys, ii. p. 229.

² Erasmus, *Ep.* 242.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 159 seq.

⁴ *Vide* Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. p. 224.

⁵ Erasmus, *Ep.* 441.

10. *The Humanists gradually succeeded in transforming the greater part of the universities and schools of Europe early in the sixteenth century. The study of the Greek and Latin classics, of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and of the Greek and Latin Fathers, was gradually introduced, and the Scholastic Theology was pushed into the background.*

This transformation took place in Italy and Spain, no less than in Germany and England ; and was permanent in its results. The Humanist reformation was interrupted, and the Humanists were divided into hostile camps, by the outbreak of the revolutionary Reformation, led by Luther and Zwingli. This was a reformation of religion, which pushed the reformation of scholarship into the background. Its immediate effects were disastrous to scholarship, especially in Northern Europe. Insurrections and civil wars spread rapidly over Europe, and continued to work mischief for more than a century. But there was a permanent gain to theological scholarship in spite of all. The Holy Scriptures were studied in the original languages by all the great scholars of the time, and Biblical texts were published by Protestants, Catholics and Jews.

In Spain the *Complutensian Polyglot* was published by Cardinal Ximenes (1514-1517). In Italy the *Octaplum Psalterium* was issued at Genoa by Bishop Justinianus in 1516, the Aldine text of the Septuagint at Venice in 1518. Erasmus published his Greek Testament at Basel in five editions (1516-1535). From the second edition (1519) Luther made his translation. Stephens published three editions in Paris (1546-1550), and one in Geneva (1551). The Hebrew Bible was printed at Soncino, Lombardy, in 1488, and at Naples in 1491-1493. Another edition was printed at Brescia in 1494, which Luther used in making his version. The same text appeared in Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible (1516-1517), edited by Felix Pratensis. A second Rabbinical Bible was published by Bomberg in 1524-1525, carefully revised after the Massora by Jacob ben Chayim.¹ The Mishna

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 186 seq., 206 seq.

was published at Naples in 1492, the Babylonian Talmud at Venice by Bomberg (in twelve volumes folio, 1520), the Jerusalem Talmud at Venice by Bomberg (1522-1523). The Christian Fathers were also published in original editions, as well as the heathen classics in Greek and Latin, by the great presses at Venice, Basel, Paris, Geneva and elsewhere.

The whole world, Jew and Christian, Catholic and Protestant, had Hebrew and Christian antiquity opened to them as never before.

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION

THE New Learning made its way gradually into the midst of the universities and schools of Europe, not without severe conflicts with the Old Learning. The Humanists, early in the sixteenth century, divided on the deeper question of religious reform. The most of the Humanists remained Catholics, with Erasmus and Reuchlin, Sir Thomas More and Fisher, John Eck, and the Italian and Spanish Humanists in a body. Few of them followed Melanchthon and Calvin into the Protestant camp. The Humanists wished a reform by scholarship, and especially by a return to Christian antiquity, the study of the Scriptures and the Fathers in the original languages. The Protestants, under the lead of Luther and Zwingli, were more concerned to bring about a religious reform and do away with the abuses of religion. The Humanists in the main were unwilling to sacrifice Christian scholarship in the confusion and storms of a religious revolution.

1. The revival of the study of Theology was due in the main in the Protestant world to Melanchthon and John Calvin, and among Catholics to John Eck and Ignatius Loyola.

The original hostility of the New Learning to the Old had to be overcome, and a more comprehensive plan devised for the healthful and harmonious combination of the two. This was in a measure accomplished by

Melanchthon, Calvin, and their associates among Protestants, and among Catholics especially by John Eck, Ignatius and the Jesuit Order. Calvin and Ignatius had the same teachers in the university of Paris, and both alike saw the defects of the university education. Both alike organised colleges for the better training of the Christian ministry.

2. Luther introduced new life and spirit into theological education in Northern Germany. Melanchthon gave it form and organisation.

1. *Martin Luther* (1483-1546) was trained in law at the university of Erfurt, entered the Augustinian Order in 1505, and two years later became a priest. In 1508 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the newly established university of Wittenberg, where he continued his studies in theology, and took his bachelor's and doctor's degrees. About the year 1513 he turned to lecturing on the Bible. He became intensely hostile to the Aristotelian philosophy and to Scholasticism, and built his theology on the Scriptures and on St. Augustine. He gave to Wittenberg a Biblical rather than a humanistic character, and a mystic rather than a dogmatic spirit. The master of the German Reformation was a professor of theology, and began his work by training students in the exegesis of the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles. These writings, expounded in the lecture-room at Wittenberg, became the pillars of the Reformation.

‘*Hæc scripta sic illustravit, ut post longam et obscuram noctem nova doctrinæ lux oriri videretur.*’¹

Luther entirely reformed theological instruction by introducing new principles and new methods. The concrete was substituted for the abstract, the intuitive method for the analytical. Luther taught the Bible in

¹ *Melanchthon, Vita Lutheri*, p. 12; *vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 18, n. 6.

place of the Lombard and Thomas Aquinas. He followed the Apostles and Prophets in preference to the Fathers and the Schoolmen.¹ Above all 'he recalled the minds of men to the Son of God.' ² He said :

'All right holy books agree in this, that they altogether preach and urge Christ. This also is the true touchstone to test all books, . . . since every scripture shows Christ.'³

Luther insisted that the Scripture should be its own interpreter, and urged the one literal sense against the fourfold sense, yet claimed that faith was absolutely essential to the exegete.

'Every word should be allowed to stand in its natural meaning, and that should not be abandoned unless faith forces us to it.' 'It is the attribute of Holy Scripture that it interprets itself by passages and places which belong together, and can only be understood by the rule of faith.'⁴

Zwingli said :

'Luther . . . has searched out the meaning of Scripture with greater earnestness than any one on earth has done for a thousand years. . . . What I have read of his writings (so far as concerns dogma, doctrine, opinions, and the sense of Scripture, for I have nothing to do with his quarrels) is generally so well fortified and grounded in the Word of God, that it is not possible for any creature to refute them.'⁵

Ambrose Blaurer declared in 1523 :

'Luther, . . . above all other men, has so restricted his understanding, according to the exhortation of Paul, and forced it into subjection to the word of Christ, that he seldom decides by his own opinion, but by comparing and explaining Scripture with Scripture, which is the highest art in commenting.'⁶

¹ *Vide* Briggs, in *A Symposium on Martin Luther by the Professors of the Union Theological Seminary in New York*, 1883, pp. 9 seq.

² Melanchthon, *Vita Lutheri*, p. 12.

³ Walch, xiv. 149; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 652 seq.

⁴ Walch, iii. 2042; xix. 1601; Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 456.

⁵ Zwingli, *Uslegung des XVIII. Art.*, 1523; *vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 83, n. 39.

⁶ Blaurer, in Füssli's *Beyträge zur Reformationsgeschichte*, iv. 195; *vide* Gieseler, iv. pp. 73 seq., n. 119.

Melanchthon testifies to his extraordinary power as a teacher :

‘One man is an interpreter ; another a logician ; and still another an orator, affluent and beautiful in speech ; but Luther is all in all. . . . Whatever he writes, whatever he utters, pierces to the soul, fixes itself like arrows in the heart.’¹

But the chief merit of Luther as a teacher was his unflinching fidelity to truth. The truth of God swayed him with irresistible power. At the Diet of Worms (1521) he cried : ‘My conscience is bound in the Word of God : I cannot and will not recant anything. . . . Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. God help me.’²

He wrote to Melanchthon in 1530 :

‘To your great anxiety, by which you are made weak, I am a cordial foe ; for the cause is not ours. . . . So far as the public cause is concerned, I am well content and satisfied ; for I know that it is right and true, and, what is more, it is the cause of Christ and God Himself. For that reason, I am merely a spectator. If we fall, Christ will likewise fall ; and if He fall, I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the emperor.’³

Luther first appeared as a reformer in the publication of ninety-five Theses against the sale of indulgences (1517). He claimed that he was upholding the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church ; but in the heat of controversy he came into conflict with the common teaching and practice of the Church as expressed in the writings of great theologians and in papal decrees. He challenged the Scholastic Theology and the authority of the pope, holding that only a general council could finally determine articles of faith. But in a controversy with Eck at Leipzig (1519) he was forced by inevitable logic to justify Huss in some matters, and so to deny the infallible authority of councils as well as of popes.⁴ In the follow-

¹ *Vide Painter, Luther on Education*, p. 108.

² *Vide Kidd, Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, p. 85 ; Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 262 seq., 271 seq.

³ *Vide Kirn, ‘Melanchthon,’ in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁴ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 162 seq., 165 seq.

ing year he published his tracts: *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *The Liberty of a Christian Man*. In these he appealed to the Scriptures over against pope and council. Two years later he began to print in parts translations of the Bible in German.¹ This work was completed in 1534, but he continued to revise it for the rest of his life. He secured the help of Melanchthon, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, and Aurogallus.²

The translation was based upon the original Hebrew and Greek texts, compared with the Vulgate and the older German versions. Luther's Bible has been the Bible of the German people from that day to this. Widely scattered in cheap editions, it greatly helped the progress of the Reformation. Luther also produced numerous commentaries, *postillæ* and expository sermons, which were of great influence. The *Kirchenpostille* Luther calls 'the very best book that I ever made.'³ The commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, and Galatians were of special value. In addition to his dogmatic and polemic writings and his numerous letters, Luther published works of fundamental importance for symbolics and liturgics. His catechisms were given symbolical authority by the Formula of Concord, as 'the Bible of the laity.'⁴ The smaller catechism is an abridgment of the larger, and is based on the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments. In the preface to the Larger Catechism Luther writes:

'I read and recite word by word, in the morning and when I have leisure, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, etc. . . . and I must remain and do cheerfully remain a child and pupil of the catechism.'

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, p. 168; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 216 seq.

² *Vide* Schaff, *History of Christian Church*, vi. pp. 346 seq.

³ Walch, xx. 1112; *vide* Gieseler, iv. pp. 554 seq., n. 12.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 11 seq.

Löhe remarks of the smaller work: 'No other catechism in the world can be made a prayer of but this.' Leopold von Ranke cried:

'Happy he whose soul was nourished by it, he who clings to it! He possesses . . . under a thin shell the kernel of the Truth, which is sufficient for the wisest of the wise.'¹

Luther's hymns are also household treasures among the German people. Luther came into conflict with Erasmus on the freedom of the will, and with Zwingli on the Eucharist. He alienated the greater number of the Humanists, and destroyed the unity of the Reformation by insisting that it should go in his way and in no other. He lacked the faculty of nice discrimination, and did injury to some of the cherished institutions and well-established doctrines of Christianity. But the Church was in bondage to a vast system of legalism, and it was Luther who spoke the master word that set men free. He had passed through an experience almost identical with that of St. Paul, and so was enabled to understand him better than any one since Augustine. It was the merit of Luther that he set forth the teaching of the Apostle Paul as the great transforming power of the age.² Like the Baptist, 'monstravit agnum Dei, qui tulit peccata nostra.'³

2. *Philip Melanchthon* (1497-1560) was educated in humanistic studies at the Latin school of Pforzheim and at the universities of Heidelberg and Tübingen. He was strongly influenced by Reuchlin, his great-uncle, and later by Erasmus, and so became a thorough Humanist. Ecolampadius recommended him to the latter as 'a person plainly worthy of Erasmus' love, who may himself become a second Erasmus.'⁴ Melan-

¹ Von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1852³), ii. p. 357; *vide* Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, i. pp. 250 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 156 seq., 167 seq., 170 seq.

³ Melanchthon, *Vita Lutheri*, p. 12; *vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 18, n. 6.

⁴ *Vide* Nichols, ii. p. 536.

chthon began his career by teaching the classics at Tübingen, and then went to Wittenberg as professor of Greek. At Wittenberg he represented the humanistic culture, which he combined with the more Biblical methods of Luther. His inaugural address, *De corrigendis adolescentiæ studiis*, excited extraordinary interest, and his lecture-room was thronged with students. In 1533 he reformed and reorganised the methods of the university, and this reform furnished the model for most of the Protestant universities of Germany. There were three professors of theology, the first of whom lectured on the New Testament, and the second on the Old Testament, while the third gave a more practical exposition of the Bible. Hebrew, Greek, and ethics were taught in the philosophical faculty. The *Sentences* of the Lombard and the old compendium of dogmatic were done away with. Melanchthon devoted himself for a time chiefly to the philosophical faculty, in strictly humanistic studies ; but such interest was aroused by his lectures on the Greek Testament, that he was transferred to the theological faculty.

Matthesius relates that he came to Wittenberg at the age of twenty-five (in 1529), and there heard *Melanchthon* lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, and on Rhetoric, Dialectic and Ethics ; also *Luther* on Isaiah ; *Jonas* on the Psalms ; *Bugenhagen* on Corinthians ; *Aurogallus* on Hebrew grammar ; *Frank* of Weimar on Greek, etc.¹

Melanchthon became the great theologian of the Lutheran type of the Reformation. He rejected the Scholastic Theology ; and, following the method of the Positive Theology, based his teaching on the Scriptures, especially on the Epistle to the Romans. He was more comprehensive in his scholarship than Luther, and more irenic in his disposition.² Luther contrasts himself with

¹ *Vide Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrtten Unterrichts*, i. p. 221.

² *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 168 seq., 203 seq.

his friend in the preface which he wrote to Melanchthon's Commentary on Colossians, saying :

'I am rough, boisterous, stormy, and altogether warlike. I am born to fight against innumerable monsters and devils. I must remove stumps and stones, cut away thistles and thorns, and clear the wild forests; but Master Philippus comes along softly and gently, sowing and watering with joy, according to the gifts which God has abundantly bestowed upon him.'¹

After the death of Luther, Melanchthon developed still more in the irenic and humanistic direction toward which he was naturally inclined, but he became involved in the Interimistic and Adiaphoristic Controversies, and was charged with yielding too much in the interests of peace. The *Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology* for that Confession, and the so-called *Variata* were all the work of Melanchthon. He also prepared other symbols in whole or in part.² His *Loci communes rerum theologicarum*, published in many editions (1521-1559), grew out of a course of lectures on the *Romans*. Luther called it, 'liber *invictus*, non *solum immortalitate*, *sed et canone ecclesiastico dignus*'.³ It became the standard system of theology of the Lutheran Reformation. Dorner classes it with Luther's three great tracts of the year 1520, saying : 'To the reformation proclaimed in these writings and to no other did the German people subscribe.'⁴ Melanchthon's commentaries were also of great value, especially those on the *Romans* and *Colossians*. His numerous writings include important works on the sacraments, worship, and government of the Church, on ethics, homiletics, catechetics, and pedagogics, as well as on dogma, philosophy, and philology. He perpetuated the influence of Reuchlin, Wimpfeling and

¹ *Vide* Schaff, vi. p. 193.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 176 *seq.*, 184, 189 *seq.*, 193, 354 *seq.*

³ *Vide* Herrlinger, 'Melanchthon,' in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, 1881².

⁴ Dorner, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, p. 93.

Agricola ; and he was the first Protestant to write on the proper method of studying theology, and the first to 'attempt a history of dogma.' 'It may safely be said that by his influence every department of theology was advanced.'¹

The most of the German universities became Protestant : *Wittenberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Frankfort, Greifswald, Rostock*, in the north ; and *Tübingen* and *Heidelberg*, in the south ; also *Copenhagen* in Denmark, and *Upsala* in Sweden. Upon all of these the influence of Melanchthon was strong. New universities were organised under the same influence at *Marburg* (1527), *Königsberg* (1544), *Jena* (1556-1558), *Helmstädt* (1576). The most of the universities, however, declined after the Reformation, with the exception of Wittenberg and Marburg in the north, and Tübingen and Heidelberg in the south.

Among the scholars of *Wittenberg* were : 3. *Justus Jonas* († 1555), who called Erasmus his 'father in Christ,' and was entrusted by Luther and Melanchthon with the translation of their works from German into Latin, or the reverse ; 4. *Johann Bugenhagen* († 1558), who was influenced by Erasmus to study the Scriptures, helped Luther in his Biblical translation, published notable commentaries, and, as superintendent of the reform in Denmark, reorganised the University of Copenhagen ; 5. *Matthias Flacius Illyricus* († 1575), leader in the Interimistic, Adiaphoristic and Synergistic controversies, author of works of great value to Church historians and Biblical exegesis, among them the famous *Magdeburg Centuries*, which originated with him ; 6. *Martin Chemnitz* († 1586), a leader in the preparation of several of the minor Protestant symbols and in the Adiaphoristic and Eucharistic controversies, and noted for his polemic against Rome, especially his *Examen Concilii Tridentini*.

The University of *Marburg* had among its first professors of theology : 7. *François Lambert* († 1530), a Franciscan of Avignon who came under the influence of both Zwingli and Luther, took a leading part in the Reformation in Hesse, especially in the Homberg Synod, and published practical commentaries and dogmatic and polemic treatises ; 8. *Andreas Hyperius* († 1564),

¹ Kirn, 'Melanchthon,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

‘the spiritual head of the Hessian Church’ and ‘the father of Practical Theology,’¹ who wrote works of great importance, *De ratione studii theologici*, *De methodo in conscribenda historia ecclesiastica consilium*, *De formandis concionibus sacris*, and valuable commentaries.

The University of *Königsberg* numbered among its professors: 9. *Andreas Osiander* († 1552), Hebrew scholar, controversialist, and leader of the Reformation in Nüremberg, whose works include a Latin version of the Bible, a Harmony of the Gospels, and various polemic treatises. He is to be distinguished from his son *Lucas* († 1604), also preacher, teacher, controversialist, and the author of important Biblical, historical and doctrinal works.

Among the theologians of *Heidelberg* were: 10. *John Brenz* († 1570), the leading reformer of the Duchy of Würtemberg, active in many of the religious controversies of the time and in the reform of the University of Tübingen (1537), author of the *Confessio Wirtembergica*, the Church Order of 1553-1559, and of several catechisms of great usefulness; also an exegete of whom Luther said: ‘No one of the theologians of our time so explains and discourses of the Holy Scriptures as does Brentius; in such a way that I often wonder at his mind, and doubt my own capacity. I believe that no one of us could do what he has done in explanation of the Gospel of John.’² 11. *Zacharias Ursinus* († 1583), an associate of Melanchthon at Wittenberg, and teacher in the *Collegium Sapientiae* at Heidelberg, who helped to prepare the *Heidelberg Catechism*, and wrote on the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Formula of Concord*; 12. *Caspar Olevianus* († 1587), trained in theology at Geneva, whose chief work was done at Heidelberg, in the preparation of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, in teaching, preaching and church organisation.

At the University of *Leipzig* valuable work was done in preparation for a sounder exegesis of the Greek Testament by the Greek scholar: 13. *Camerarius* († 1574), a disciple of Melanchthon.

The leading spirit in the University of *Rostock* in his day was: 14. *Chytræus* († 1600), another pupil of Melanchthon and ‘the last of the fathers of the Lutheran Church.’ He was a mediating theologian, and an encyclopædic scholar, and produced *Regulæ studiorum*, *De studio theologiae recte inchoando* (1562, 1572), and other works of great influence in the fields of dogmatics, catechetics, Church history and Biblical exegesis.

¹ Achelis, ‘Hyperius,’ in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² Walch, xxii. 2290; *vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 555, n. 14.

The University of *Tübingen* trained such scholars as : 15. *Jacob Andree* († 1590), who helped to prepare the Swabian-Saxon *Concordia*, the *Torgau Book*, and the *Formula of Concord*, and wrote *De instauratione studii theologici*, *De studio sacrarum literarum*, and numerous other works ; 16. *Piscator* († 1625), author of a German version of the Bible, Latin commentaries on both Testaments, and an *Anhang des herbonischen biblischen Werks*, 'noted for its wealth of archæological, historical, and theological material.'¹

In the University of *Copenhagen* the Danish theologian : 17. *Niels Hemmingsen* († 1600), a devoted pupil of Melanchthon, taught for thirty-seven years (1542-1579). He published valuable works in Exegetical, Doctrinal and Practical Theology, including the *Way of Life* (1570, English, 1575), in which the material is arranged on the principle of the Law and the Gospel.²

3. The University of Basel perpetuated the influence of Erasmus, but went over to the Zwinglian type of the Reformation under the chief reformer *Œcolampadius*.

1. *Œcolampadius* (Johann Heussgen, 1482-1531) was trained at Heilbronn, then studied law at Bologna, and at last philosophy and theology at Heidelberg, where he was greatly influenced by Thomas Aquinas and the Scholastic Mystics, especially Richard of St. Victor and Gerson. He spent some years in tutoring and preaching, and then went to *Tübingen*, where he met Melanchthon. In 1514 he returned to Heidelberg, and the following year was called to preach at Basel. There he entered into fellowship with Erasmus, and helped him in the publishing of his Greek Testament. In 1516 he began to lecture on the New Testament in the university, and two years later he assisted Erasmus in his second edition of the Greek text. The group of scholars to which both belonged is thus described by Erasmus :

'I seem to be living in some charming sanctuary of the Muses, where a multitude of learned persons, and learned in no common fashion, appears a thing of course. No one is ignorant of Latin ;

¹ E. F. Karl Müller, 'Piscator,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

² *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 8 seq.

none of Greek; most of them know Hebrew. This one excels in the study of History, that one is deeply versed in Theology; one is skilled in Mathematics, another is a student of Antiquity, and another is learned in the Law. Certainly up to this time it has never been my good fortune to live in such an accomplished society. But not to dwell upon that, what a sincere friendship prevails among them all, what cheerfulness, what concord! You would swear they had only one mind among them.¹

In 1520 the mystic tendencies of *Ecolampadius* led him to retire to a monastery; but after two years he left, and became the chaplain of *Franz von Sickingen*. A few months later he accepted a call to Basel, where he spent the remainder of his life. He became a leader of the Reformation in Basel, though not its originator. After a long conflict the reforming party triumphed (1529), and *Simon Grynaeus* († 1541) and *Sebastian Münster* were added to the faculty of the university. The lectures of *Ecolampadius* in the university were chiefly upon the Scriptures, and his commentaries are among the most valuable of the time. His writings include sermons, exegetical and polemical treatises, letters and translations from the Fathers. He stood in close relations with *Zwingli*, and aided *Bucer* in his efforts for peace. At the conference of Marburg (1529) he showed a conciliatory spirit, and in the following years he continued to work for union. In 1534 he drew up with the help of *Myconius* the first Confession of Basel, which is simple and moderate in statement.²

The successor of *Ecolampadius* at Basel was: 2. *Oswald Myconius* († 1552), an associate of *Zwingli*, who helped to prepare both the First Confession of Basel and the First Helvetic Confession.

Among the theologians trained at Basel may be mentioned: 3. *Urbanus Rhegius* († 1541), a follower of *Eck*, who came under the influence of *Erasmus* and *Zwingli*, and took his doctor's degree at Basel. He became a leader of the Reformation in

¹ *Erasmus*, *Ep.* 366.

² *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, p. 185.

Lüneburg and Hannover, and published numerous doctrinal and polemical works, many of which were translated into English ; 4. *Johannes à Lasco* († 1560), author of the *Emden Catechism* and the *Confessio Londinensis*, a friend of Erasmus and other leading Humanists, who was charged with the superintendence of all the churches in East Friesland (c. 1542), of all the congregations of foreign Protestants in London (1550), and of all the Reformed churches in Little Poland (c. 1557).

4. *Zwingli began a revival of the study of Theology in Zürich ; and his influence was carried on by Bullinger, who organised both common and theological education, and laid the basis for the subsequent university.*

1. *Huldreich Zwingli* (1484-1531) was educated at Bern and Vienna, and finally at Basel, where *Thomas Wytttenbach* († 1526), professor of theology, taught him 'to seek remission of sins in the death of Christ alone.'¹ He began his work as pastor at Glarus in 1506 ; and some years later, under the influence of Erasmus, he undertook the study of the Greek Testament, that he might 'draw the doctrine of Christ from the original.'² In 1516 he removed to Einsiedeln, where he began to proclaim the mediatorial work of Christ and the authority of the Scriptures. Three years later he was called to the Great Minster at Zürich, where he remained until his death. In Zürich he studied Hebrew with a pupil of Reuchlin, and began a series of expository sermons by which he covered the entire New Testament, save for the Apocalypse, in four years. These sermons produced a profound impression. In 1523 he published sixty-seven Theses, exalting Christ as the only Saviour, and Holy Scripture as the only infallible authority. These articles are more comprehensive and dogmatic than those of Luther. They may be regarded as the basis of the Swiss Reformation. Zwingli defended them in a series of disputations. He began his work of reform independently

¹ *Vide* Schaff, vii. pp. 23 seq.

² *Vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 78, n. 17.

of Luther, and from a different point of view. He was stirred against idolatry rather than against the abuse of indulgences. But, like Luther, he appealed to the Scriptures.¹ In 1525 Zwingli introduced in Zürich the study of the Bible in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, forming a kind of theological school. It seems to have been to some extent a revival of the ancient cathedral school. Under the name of the *Carolinum* it developed into a famous institution. Myconius declared that, if Zwingli had lived to bring his plan to complete fulfilment, this school would have had no equal.² Bullinger, Myconius, Pellican, Bibliander and other noted scholars took part in the building up of the institution. Zwingli sent a confession of faith to the Diet of Augsburg (1530), and an *Exposition of the Christian Faith* to Francis I. (1531). He wrote a *Commentarius de vera et falsa religione*, which is said to be 'the first systematic exposition of the Reformed faith';³ also treatises on Divine Providence and Christian education, polemical, exegetical, liturgical, and political works, sermons and letters.

2. *Henry Bullinger* (1504-1575) was educated at Emmerich by the Brethren of the Common Life, and then at the university of Cologne. Influenced by a study of the Fathers and the Scriptures, as well as by the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, he became a Protestant in 1522. The following year he began to teach at the Cistercian monastery in Kappel, near Zürich, and there remained for six years, teaching the classics and the Bible. He became a close friend and supporter of Zwingli, and after his death the leader of the German Swiss Protestants. Bullinger raised the schools of Zürich to a high standard of excellence, and did much to promote theological scholarship. Peter

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 169 *seq.*

² *Vide* Christoffel, *Huldreich Zwingli*, in *Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformirten Kirche*, i. p. 97.

³ *Vide* Schaff, vii. p. 68.

Martyr, Pellican and Bibliander were called to teach in the *Carolinum*. Protestant refugees from France, Italy, England, and Germany came to Bullinger for refuge. Like Bucer he worked on behalf of Church Unity, and Beza called him 'the common shepherd of all Christian Churches.'¹ He was one of the authors of the First Helvetic Confession (1536), and joined with Calvin in the production of the *Consensus Tigurinus* (1549), which united the French and German Swiss on a common platform. The Second Helvetic Confession (1566) he wrote as his own confession of faith, in expectation of death (1562) : it became the bond of unity of all the Reformed Churches.² His writings consist of Latin commentaries on the whole New Testament save the Apocalypse ; sermons on several of the Prophets and on the Apocalypse ; treatises *De providentia*, *De gratia Dei justificante*, *De Scripturæ sanctæ auctoritate et certitudine*, and other dogmatic works ; *Sermonum decades quinque*, on the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed and the sacraments, highly valued in England and Holland ; historical works, and letters of great importance for the history of the Reformation ; and a book of Church Order, prepared with the help of Leo Judæ, which remained in use for three centuries.

Among the scholars that assisted Zwingli and Bullinger the most important was: 3. *Leo Judæ* (1482-1542). He was trained at Schlettstadt, and was a fellow-student of Zwingli at Basel. He began as a student of medicine ; but, influenced by Wyttensbach's lectures on *Romans*, he joined Zwingli in the study of theology. He succeeded his friend at Einsiedeln, and afterwards became his colleague and helper at Zürich (1523). He prepared several catechisms, and became famous for his work as a translator, especially for his Latin version of the Old Testament. He taught Hebrew in the *Carolinum*, and was the chief of the group of scholars which produced the Zürich Bible (1525-1529). What

¹ *Vide* Schaff, vii. p. 207.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 185, 193, 196 seq.

Melanchthon was to Luther, that Leo was to Zwingli; and he helped Bullinger to carry on the great Reformer's work.

Prominent among the reformers of Zürich were the Biblical scholars: 4. *Pellican* († 1556), a disciple of Reuchlin, and former associate of Cœolampadius at Basel, who taught Hebrew and Greek at Zürich for over thirty years, and published *Commentaria Bibliorum*; 5. *Bibliander* († 1564), 'homo grammaticus,' a pupil of Pellican, Capito, Cœolampadius and Myconius, and Zwingli's successor as professor of theology, regarded by Hottinger as the father of Exegetical Theology in Switzerland.¹

Zürich became the refuge of several disciples of the Spanish mystic, *Juán de Valdés* († 1541), who produced a profound impression by his tract, *Del Beneficio di Christo*, and in his *Alfabeto christiano* summed up Christian perfection in holy love. One of the most noted of his many followers was: 6. *Pietro Martire Vermigli* (1500-1562), prior of the Augustinians at Lucca, who sought to reform theological study in his monastery, and published a tract on the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith. Called to account by his Order, he retired to Strasburg, and there became professor of Hebrew (1543-1547). Cranmer invited him to England, and he was made professor of Divinity at Oxford (1549). Forced to leave England by Mary's accession, he finally settled at Zürich (1555), where he taught Hebrew in the *Carolinum*. His principal writings are commentaries, *Loci communes*, and doctrinal tracts. Among his disciples at Lucca was *Zanchi* († 1590), who taught Hebrew at Strasburg (1553) and theology at Heidelberg (1568), and wrote on the nature of God, His works and His law.

7. *Bernardino Occhino* (1487-1564), a native of Siena and member of the new order of Capuchins, became the most popular preacher of Italy after Savonarola. He was strongly influenced by Juan de Valdés and Peter Martyr, and was suspected of heresy. Taking refuge in Geneva (1542), he published many volumes of sermons and a commentary on Romans. Calvin praised him for 'eminent learning and exemplary life.'² In 1547 he was called to England by Cranmer, and for some years worked in London as an evangelist (1547-1554). On the accession of Mary he removed to Zürich, where he came under the influence of *Lælius Socinus*. In 1561-1563 he published works which excited doubts of his orthodoxy, and led to his expulsion. Driven from place to place, he died in Moravia the following year.

¹ *Vide Egli, 'Bibliander,' in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

² *Vide Schaff, vii. p. 646.*

Mention may also be made of: 8. *Hospinian* (1547-1626), who was head of the *Carolinum* for nearly twenty years, and produced numerous polemical and historical works, especially in the field of Christian Institutions.

5. *John Sturm* organised the *gymnasium* of *Strasburg* in 1538, and *Martin Bucer* organised the *theological seminary* there in 1544.

John Sturm and Martin Bucer were jointly responsible for the organisation of education at Strasburg.

1. *Sturm* (1507-1589) studied in the famous school of Liège and the university of Louvain, and began his teaching at Paris. Through the influence of Bucer's writings he became a Protestant. He is chiefly responsible for the organisation of the *gymnasium* of *Strasburg* (1538), which he conducted for over forty years as the public school of the city. According to his plan the study was carried on for ten years in as many classes. It was in preparation for the higher studies of the learned professions, law, medicine, and theology, and was humanistic throughout. Sturm's aims found expression in the phrase: *Sapiens atque eloquens pietas*; his ideas and methods in the treatise: *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis*. His school had at one time more than a thousand pupils assembled from all parts. Among the teachers of theology were Bucer, Calvin, Capito, Hedio, Peter Martyr, and Fagius. Sturm was called upon to organise other schools on the model of that at Strasburg. His writings were numerous, including polemical tracts and letters of value, as well as works on pedagogy, rhetoric, etc.

Among the pupils of Sturm at Paris was the celebrated Humanist and philosopher, *Petrus Ramus* († 1572), noted for his criticism of the Aristotelian philosophy and logic, who published *Commentariorum de religione Christiana libri IV.*

2. *Martin Bucer* (1491-1551) was trained at Schlettstadt, joined the Dominican Order, and continued his

education among the Humanists at Heidelberg. He left the monastery in 1520, and served as pastor at Landstuhl, Wissenburg, and finally at Strasburg (1523), where he united with Zell, Capito, and Hedio in the reformation of the city. He organised evangelical worship, Church government, and the teaching of theology. Between the years 1524 and 1544 he published no less than three catechisms, and in 1530 prepared the *Tetrapolitan Confession* for the Diet of Augsburg. He also helped Sturm in his school, and subsequently, in 1544, organised a seminary for training in theology. Bucer was the chief mediating theologian on the Reformed side. He was influenced by both Luther and Zwingli ; but took an independent position, and in his turn influenced both Calvin and Melanchthon. It was Bucer who, with the help of Melanchthon, composed the Consultation of Hermann of Cologne, which Cranmer used in the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer.¹ Bucer was called by Cranmer to England, and settled at Cambridge in 1550, only to die the following year. His remarkable literary activity bore fruit in the fields of Biblical Exegesis, Dogmatics, Symbolics, Apologetics, Polemics, Irenics, Liturgics, Church Order, Pastoral Theology, and the History of Councils and Conferences. As an exegete he deserves special mention. Grynæus wrote to him in 1533 : 'Palmam tibi in sacris literis inter Germanos concedo.'²

3. *Capito* (Wolfgang Koepfel, 1478-1541) was educated at Pforzheim and Ingolstadt, and finally at Freiburg, where he studied medicine, law and theology. He became professor and preacher at Basel (1515), and there, under the influence of Erasmus and other Humanists, took up the study of the Scriptures. Erasmus describes him as 'a man who, besides other accomplishments, is pre-eminently skilled in three tongues, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and finally is a person of so much integrity and piety,

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 174 seq., 180 seq., 184 seq., 191.

² *Vide* Gieseler, iv. p. 556, n. 15.

that I have never seen anything more stainless.¹ Capito published a *Psalterium hebraicum* (1516), and a Hebrew grammar in several editions (1516, 1518, 1525), translations of Hosea and of Chrysostom, two catechisms (1527, 1529), *Von der Kirchleinblicher vereinigung* (1533), and above all the *Berliner Synodus* (1532). He became with Bucer a leader of the reform in Strasburg, and assisted him in preparing the Tetrapolitan Confession (1530).

4. *Caspar Hedio* (1494-1552) was trained at Pforzheim, Freiburg and Basel, and became one of the leading reformers at Strasburg (1523). He was also active in building up the schools there, and taught theology in the higher school. He has been called the first Protestant Church historian, and his works include translations of Eusebius, Rufinus, Sozomen, etc., and a chronicle extending from the beginning of the world to the year 1543.

The successor of Capito at Strasburg was: 5. *Paulus Fagius* († 1549), one of his students, and a pupil of *Elias Levita*, the great Jewish scholar, who, together with *Jacob ben Chayim*, exerted a strong influence upon the Protestant reformers in their study of the Old Testament.² Fagius was called to England and appointed professor of Hebrew at Cambridge (1549), but died soon afterwards. His writings are on the Hebrew language and Old Testament exegesis.

Among the students of Hebrew at Strasburg in the time of Capito and Bucer was: 6. *Musculus* (Muesslin, † 1563), a mediating theologian and worthy to stand with Bullinger, Ecolampadius and Melanchthon by the side of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin, as one of the great exegetes of the Reformation.³ In addition to his valuable commentaries Musculus published translations of the Greek Fathers, *Loci communes*, a catechism, and doctrinal tracts. He preached for some years at Augsburg, but was driven from there by the *Interim* (1548), and became professor of theology at Bern.

6. *John Eck at the University of Ingolstadt reformed the study of Theology by a combination of Positive Theology with Humanistic studies and the traditional Catholic Theology.*

John Eck (1486-1543) was educated at Heidelberg,

¹ Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, ii. p. 328.

² *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 140 seq., 219 seq.

³ *Vide Briggs, ibid.*, pp. 224, 457.

Tübingen, Cologne, and Freiburg, at which last university he became a successful teacher. He was called to a theological chair at Ingolstadt in 1510; and by his influence there, which continued until his death, he made it the great Catholic university of Germany. He was no less a Humanist than Melanchthon, and no less a Biblical scholar than Luther, having been trained in Greek and Hebrew as well. He differed from them in maintaining the traditional Roman Catholic Faith and Institutions, which he defended with such great ability that he was regarded as the chief champion of Rome on all occasions. His *Enchiridion* went through forty-six editions between 1525 and 1576, and is as truly Positive Theology, based on the Bible, as any of the writings of Luther or Melanchthon. He also issued (1537) a German translation of the Bible over against that of Luther.¹

Among the peacemakers on the side of Rome at the time of the Reformation may be mentioned: 1. *John Gropper* († 1559), a follower of Erasmus and supporter of Hermann of Cologne in his first efforts at reform. Gropper took part in several conferences on behalf of Church Unity, and drew up the canons of the reforming council held at Cologne in 1536.² But he differed from the Protestants irreconcilably on matters concerning the Church, and became the opponent of Hermann after the appearance of his *Reforming Constitution*. Gropper's chief works are his *Enchiridion* (1538), and *Institutio catholica* (1565), in which he makes use of the Positive Theology. 2. *George Cassander* († 1566), the greatest of all the Catholic peacemakers, in his *De officio pii ac publicæ tranquillitatis, etc.* (1561), and his *Consultatio* (1564), considers the differences between Catholics and Protestants in an irenic spirit and makes useful proposals for reconciliation.³ 3. *George Witzel* († 1573), a pupil of Erasmus, in his *Methodus concordiæ ecclesiasticae* (1537) urged reforms in doctrinal statements and ecclesiastical usages, and in his *Via*

¹ *Vide* Greving, *Eck als junger Gelehrter*, 1906.

² *Canones provincialis concilii Coloniensis*, 1538; *vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, p. 184.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, p. 421.

regia (1564) proposed the laying aside of scholastic dogmatism and a return to the simplicity of doctrine and usage of the early Church.¹

7. The Universities of Louvain and of Alcalá combined Humanistic studies with a reformed Scholasticism.

The University of Alcalá, Spain, was established c. 1500 by *Cardinal Ximenes*, who organised several colleges for humanistic studies, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and for the study of theology. The theological degrees were given the precedence of all the others. There were six professorships of theology proper, six of Church Law, and four of Greek and Hebrew. Biblical studies were emphasised by those who gave the first great Polyglot, the *Complutensian*, called after the ancient *Complutum*, where the first college was established. Some of the greatest scholars of Spain took part in this work, among them *Alphonso de Zamora*, also *Demetrius Ducas* of Crete.

The University of Louvain was founded in Brabant c. 1425 with all the faculties save that of theology, which was added in 1431. Louvain was given in charge of the Dominicans and became the great seat of the Thomist Theology. Humanistic studies were introduced c. 1517 by the establishment of the *Collegium Trilingue* after the model of that of Alcalá, for the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. These two reformed universities, combining Humanism with the Scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, were chiefly responsible for the newer Scholasticism of the sixteenth century, which put aside the corrupt and hair-splitting Scholasticism of the fifteenth century and reverted to the pure Scholasticism of Thomas. The study of theology throughout the Roman Catholic world was greatly influenced by this.

1. *Ximenes* († 1517) rose to the highest positions in the Church, as archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, cardinal, and in-

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 20 seq.

quisitor-general. He reformed the clergy, regular and secular, reorganised and strengthened the universities, issued the *Complutensian Polyglot*, and revived the study of the Scholastic Theology of Thomas Aquinas.

2. *Francisco Vitoria* († 1546) was influenced by Ximenes, and became the father of the newer Scholasticism. His pupils, *Melchior Cano* and *Dominico Soto*, exerted immense influence in the reformation of theology, especially in the Council of Trent.

3. *Melchior Cano* († 1560), of the Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca, a Dominican, and a bitter opponent of the Jesuits, maintained in his *Loci theologici* the fundamental importance of the Positive over against the Scholastic Theology.¹

4. *Dominico Soto* († 1560) was noted both as a Biblical exegete and as dogmatic theologian.

5. *Thomas de Vio Cajetanus* († 1534), Italian Dominican and cardinal, who conferred with Luther as papal delegate (1518), was one of the foremost scholastic theologians of the age, and the author of a notable commentary on Thomas Aquinas. But he also realised the importance of Biblical study, and prepared a literal translation of the Bible, and commentaries on most of its books.

Among the Biblical scholars of the time were the Dominicans: 6. *Santes Pagninus* of Lucca († 1541), whose studies in the Hebrew language bore fruit in several important works, including a Latin version of the Hebrew Bible and *Isagogæ ad sacras litteras liber I.*; 7. *Sixtus of Siena* († 1560), whose *Bibliotheca sancta* contains valuable material for Biblical criticism and the history of exegesis; ² 8. the cardinal, *Sadolet* († 1547), a member of the Oratory of Divine Love, and one of the ablest men in Rome; ³ and 9. *Masius* († 1573), councillor of the Duke of Cleves, and collaborator with *Arius Montanus* and others in the preparation of the Antwerp Polyglot.⁴

8. *John Calvin* in his organisation of the Academy of Geneva made it the centre and norm of theological education for all the Churches of the Reformed type.

The Academy of Geneva was based on those of Strasburg and Lausanne. The Academy at Lausanne was organised by *Mathurin Cordier* in 1545. It was preceded

¹ *Vide Heinrici, Theologische Encyklopädie*, pp. 271, 349.

² *Vide Heinrici, ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, p. 161.

⁴ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 222, 250.

by a school of religion, founded by the citizens of Bern in 1537, in which *Viret* taught the Greek Testament. The Academy of Lausanne was the first academy of the Reformed Church using the French language, and to it large numbers of Frenchmen resorted. In 1558 there were as many as seven hundred students. Hebrew was taught there by *Merlin*, theology by *Rebit*, the Hellenist, Greek (after 1549) by *Beza*. But the institution was soon eclipsed by the Academy of *Geneva*, founded by *Calvin* in 1559.

1. *Mathurin Cordier* (1479-1564) was one of the chief Humanist teachers of France. *Ubi cunque docebit Maturinus Corderius, florebunt bonae litteræ*. He had been the instructor of *Calvin* at Paris, and was always esteemed by him as a great teacher and his own adviser in all matters of education. *Calvin* dedicated his *Commentary on Thessalonians* to *Cordier*, saying: 'Your principles have been to me of such help that I regard myself as indebted to you for my subsequent progress. And I have wished to bear witness to posterity; so that, if they should attach any value to my writings, they may recognise that these proceed in part from you.'

In 1557 *Cordier* resigned from the headship of the academy in Lausanne on account of his age, but two years later was called to Geneva to assist in the founding of the Geneva Academy. There he finished his famous *Colloquies*, which were published in the year of his death.

2. *William Farel* († 1565), a pupil of *Stapulensis* at Paris, and an associate of *Ecolampadius* at Basel, became a leader of the Reformation, at first in Geneva (1532), and then in *Neuchâtel*. It was *Farel* who secured for Geneva the services of *Calvin*.

3. *Pierre Viret* († 1571), the reformer of Lausanne, having worked in Geneva as *Farel's* assistant and afterwards at *Neuchâtel*, settled as pastor and teacher in Lausanne for twenty-two years. In 1559 he went to Geneva as preacher, and spent his last years in service as an evangelist at *Nîmes*, *Lyons* and elsewhere, and as teacher of theology in the Academies of *Nîmes* (1561) and *Orthez* (1566). He wrote many useful works on the *Scriptures* and *Christian Doctrine and Institutions*, the most important being an *Instruction chrestienne en la doctrine de la oy et de l'évangile*.

4. *John Calvin* (1509-1564) was born at Noyon, in Picardy, and went to Paris to study for the priesthood (1523). He was trained in the classics under Cordier at the Collège de la Marche, and then was transferred to the Collège de Montaigu, which Loyola entered before Calvin left. In 1528 he turned his attention to legal studies, and went to Orléans, and in the following year to Bourges. In 1531 he returned to Paris to study theology. There the Humanist became a Protestant. In 1534 he was compelled to flee from Paris, and, after some months of wandering, retired to Basel, where he remained for over a year. At Basel he studied Hebrew with *Grynaeus*, and completed and published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536), the most important product of the Positive Theology of the sixteenth century. Like the other reformers, Calvin discarded the Scholastic Theology, and turned to the Scriptures as alone possessed of divine authority, and to the Creeds of the ancient Church as valid summaries of the doctrines of Scripture. He sought his material in the Bible, and his structural principle, not in the Aristotelian philosophy, but in the Apostles' Creed, whose order he followed strictly, only making a fourfold instead of the traditional twelvefold division. That same year Calvin went to Geneva, and there took part in the work of reform ; but in 1538 he was forced to retire. He then went to Strasburg, where for three years he preached to the French refugees and taught in the academy. In 1541 he was recalled to Geneva, and at once became the chief reformer, not only of Geneva, but also of Switzerland, and of the Reformed branch of Protestantism in all other countries. Calvin was distinguished especially as a teacher, and by his practical executive ability. His chief merit as a reformer was in the field, not of doctrine, but of institution : in his organisation of the Church on a presbyterian basis, in his pre-

paration of a normal liturgy for the Reformed Churches, and in his establishment of a thorough theological education.¹ He greatly valued religious education, but was obliged to devote himself at first to more essential things, while the educational part of the reform was carried on at Lausanne. But in 1559 the Geneva Academy was founded, and *Beza* was called from Lausanne to aid in the work.

There were two departments: the *Schola privata*, consisting of seven classes, a preparatory school in the Classics, Dialectic and Rhetoric; and the *Schola publica*, in which theologians taught. Courses were given in *Theology*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Biblical Exegesis*, as well as in *Physics*, *Mathematics*, *Dialectic* and *Rhetoric*. Theology was taught by Calvin, or by Beza. A sermon was given every day, special prayers once a week: a conference was held weekly, so also a discussion on theological questions, making the total number of hours thirty a week, five each day. At the time of Calvin's death (1564) the number of students in his academy had reached 1500.

The school of Calvin educated the ministry for French Switzerland and Protestant France, and many of the fathers of Scottish and English Presbyterianism were trained there. Among Calvin's own students were John Knox, François du Jon, Lambert Daneau, and many other notable theologians.

Calvin was influential also as a practical and an irenic theologian. By friendly correspondence with Bullinger and other Zwinglians he brought the German and French Swiss into harmony and unified the Reformed Churches throughout Europe. He kept in touch with the leaders of the Church of England on the one hand, and with the Waldensians and Bohemian Brethren on the other. He always retained the respect of Luther and the friendship of Melanchthon.

In his Augustinianism Calvin was more moderate and cautious than Luther, and he is not responsible for the

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 183 seq.

higher and more polemic Augustinianism of his scholastic successors. Beza, rather than Calvin, is the real father of scholastic Calvinism.¹ In the Eucharistic controversy Calvin as well as Bucer took an intermediate position, which was adopted by all the Reformed Churches and the Church of England.² He was associated with Bullinger in the preparation of the *Zürich Consensus* (1549), and composed the *Gallican Confession* (1559) with the help of his pupil Chandieu. He also drew up the *Consensus Genevensis*, and published three catechisms (1537, 1542, 1545). His works on the worship and government of the Church were of fundamental importance. He also produced many polemic and apologetic treatises, and an extraordinary number of letters and sermons. He was the greatest exegete of the Reformation, and remarkable for his insistence upon the activity of the Holy Spirit in connection with the Scriptures. He declared :

‘As God alone is a sufficient witness of Himself in His own Word, so also the Word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the internal testimony of the Spirit. It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit, who spake by the mouths of the prophets, should penetrate into our hearts to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely entrusted to them.’³

Arminius († 1609) wrote of Calvin : ‘Next to the study of the Scriptures, which I earnestly inculcate, I exhort my pupils to peruse Calvin’s *Commentaries*. . . . I affirm that he excels beyond comparison in the interpretation of Scripture, and that his commentaries ought to be more highly valued than all that is handed down to us by the library of the Fathers ; so that I acknowledge him to have possessed above most others, or rather above all other men, what may be called an eminent spirit of prophecy.’ Hooker († 1600) declared that Calvin held among the preachers of the Reformed Churches the same place that the Master of Sentences held in the Church of Rome ; and Bishop

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 183 seq., 209, 282 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, p. 269.

³ Calvin, *Institutes*, i. 7 ; *vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 142.

Hall reckoned him 'among the best interpreters of Scripture since the Apostles left the earth.'

Many since his time have cried with Scaliger († 1609): *Solus inter theologos Calvinus.*¹

5. *Theodore Beza* (1519-1605) succeeded Calvin at Geneva, and was in some respects a more dominating personality. He also was a Frenchman, son of the royal governor of Vézelay, Burgundy. He was educated in the classics at Paris, Orléans, and Bourges; and then returned to Orléans for the study of law (1535-1539). He practised law in Paris for a short time, but was more interested in humanistic studies. In 1548 he went to Geneva, where he was warmly received by Calvin. The following year he became professor of Greek at the Academy of Lausanne, where he remained till 1558, when he became professor of Greek at Geneva. After the death of Calvin in 1564 he became his successor and the great leader of the Reformation in the French Cantons, and indeed in France and all over the Reformed world. As Choisy says: 'The Protestant youth for nearly forty years thronged his lecture-room to hear his theological lectures, in which he expounded the purest Calvinistic orthodoxy.'² Beza's influence upon the Churches of Great Britain and Holland was very great. His editions of the Greek Testament (1565-1604), enriched by a study of two early texts, the *Codex Bezae* and the *Codex Claromontanus*, took the place of those of Erasmus and Stephens. His numerous writings include important Biblical, doctrinal, and historical works, and a treatise *De theologo sive de ratione studii theologici* (1556).

9. *Theological study was promoted in Great Britain by Tyndale, Cranmer, Knox, and their fellow-reformers.*

Among the scholars of Cambridge to welcome Erasmus' Greek Testament was: 1. *William Tyndale*, a pupil of

¹ For these and many other tributes, *vide* Schaff, vii. pp. 272 seq.

² Choisy, 'Beza,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Colet (1484-1536). He devoted himself to the study of the Scriptures in their original tongues, and to their translation into the vernacular. Prevented from publishing his work in England, he laboured for over ten years on the Continent, and produced English versions of the New Testament (1524-1526), and of the Pentateuch (1530), *Jonah* (1531), *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, and the Books of *Samuel*, *Kings* and *1 Chronicles*. These translations were all made on the basis of the original Greek and Hebrew texts. *John Rogers* († 1555), a friend of Tyndale, incorporated these versions in the Bible which he published in 1537 under the name of *Matthew's Bible*, using for the remaining books the version of *Miles Coverdale* († 1568), 'out of Douche and Latyn' (1535). Tyndale wrote commentaries on *1 John* and *Matthew v.-vii.*, a celebrated Prologue to *Jonah*, one to the New Testament, afterwards printed as *A Pathway into the Holy Scripture*, and tracts, including the *Practyse of Prelates* and the *Obedience of a Christian Man*. Tyndale carried on the movement begun by Wyclif, which emphasised the most far-reaching of the principles of the Reformation, *the Word of God as a means of grace*. The British Reformation from the beginning laid stress upon this principle, and in the British churches it received its fullest statement and development.¹ Tyndale died a martyr, praying, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes.' That very year (1536) a *Proclamation for Uniformity in Religion* informed 'the loving subjects' of Henry VIII. that he was pleased that they should have the Scriptures in English, and 'read the same in convenient places and times.' *Injunctions* further directed that 'a Bible of the largest volume in English' be placed in every church.²

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 28 seq.; *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 653.

² *Vide* Proctor and Frere, *The Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 29 seq.

2. *Thomas Cranmer* (1489-1556) was trained at Cambridge, and undertook a systematic study of the Bible. As archbishop of Canterbury (1533) he conducted various projects of reform, including the publication of the Scriptures in several English versions, that of catechisms and articles of faith, and a revision of the worship, order and government of the Church.¹ The Reformation was advanced by Cranmer in the English universities. On Edward's accession (1547) he sent to the continent and secured the help of such teachers as *Bucer*, *Fagius*, *Vermigli*, *Occhino*, and *John à Lasco*. Bucer and Fagius were made professors at Cambridge, Vermigli at Oxford; Occhino and à Lasco became influential in London. In 1549 a reform of the universities was undertaken by royal commission. Cranmer conducted the reform of the Church in a gradual and conservative way, yet he followed *Rogers*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer* to the stake, atoning by a bearing of singular heroism for the retractions which his enemies had impelled him to make.

Among the theological scholars of England may also be mentioned : 3. *Matthew Parker* († 1575), the father of the episcopate of the Anglican Church, who took a leading part in the revision of the *Articles of Religion* and the preparation of the *Bishops' Bible*, and enriched the University of Cambridge with a priceless collection of ancient manuscripts ; 4. *John Foxe* († 1587), the friend of Tyndale and Latimer, and author of the celebrated *Book of Martyrs* (Latin, 1559 ; English, 1563) ; 5. *Richard Hooker* († 1600), whose *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* made him the chief Anglican authority on the Church.

6. *Patrick Hamilton* (c. 1503-1528), the 'first apostle' of the Reformation in Scotland, studied at the universities of Paris, Louvain, St. Andrews and Marburg, and was influenced by both Erasmus and Tyndale. Returning to Scotland in 1527, he began his short career as a preacher of reform, 'on fire with zeal to confess the name of Christ.'² The substance of his teaching

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, p. 191.

² *Exegeseos Francisci Lamberti in Joannis Apocalypsim lib. vii.* ; *vide* Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox*, pp. 157, 240.

is preserved in *Patrick's Places*, which extol faith, and contrast the Law and the Gospel: 'The Law sheweth us our sin; the Gospel sheweth us remedy for it.'¹ Hamilton had 'a great following,' and was called to give account of his teaching in a conference at St. Andrews. For some weeks he held in his own defence 'public disputations and private interviews,' and so became 'the teacher of many of the present and future teachers of the country,'² including the faculty and students of the university, as well as many of the clergy, ecclesiastical lawyers, and members of religious orders. His martyrdom in 1528 roused much excitement. In the words of John Knox: 'Then within St. Andrews, yea, almost within the whole realm, there was none found who began not to inquire, Wherefore was Master Patrick Hamilton burnt? And when his articles were rehearsed, question was holden if such articles were necessary to be believed under the pain of damnation. And so within short space many began to call in doubt that which before they held for a certain verity.'³

7. *John Knox* (c. 1514-1572) was educated at Haddington and the University of Glasgow. He became a priest, but engaged for a time in private teaching. His conversion to Protestantism he owed chiefly to *George Wishart*, a pupil of Calvin, whose martyrdom (1546) he would gladly have shared. But Wishart refused his consent, saying: 'Nay, return to your bairns. One is sufficient for a sacrifice.' The following year Knox was taken prisoner, and forced to serve in the French galleys. On his release in 1549 he began to preach in England; but the death of Edward VI. drove him to the Continent. Taking refuge in Geneva, he studied with Calvin, and after a short pastorate in Frankfort, settled in Geneva as pastor of the English congregation. In 1559 he returned to Scotland, and became the triumphant leader of the Reformation in that country. He was the chief of the six divines who drew up the *Scottish Confession* and the first *Book of Discipline*. His

¹ Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox*, pp. 110, 112.

² Lorimer, *ibid.*, pp. 134 seq.

³ Knox, *History of the Reformation*, i. p. 36; *vide* Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox*, p. 156.

writings include a *History of the Reformation*. At his death he was mourned as 'the lycht of Scotland, the comfort of the Kirke within the same, the mirror of Godliness and patron of example to all true ministeris'; and as one who 'never feared the face of man.'¹

10. Ignatius and his associates organised the Jesuit system of education, which has predominated in the Roman Catholic Church until the present time.

1. *Ignatius of Loyola* (c. 1491-1556), a Spanish officer, wounded in an engagement at Pampeluna in 1521, was called to a religious life. He undertook severe religious discipline, and in 1524 began a long course of study at Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, and finally at Paris (1528-1535). He won as his associates, Faber, Xavier, Lainez, and others; and founded the Order of the Fathers of Jesus, organised by mutual vows in 1534, and by papal bull in 1540. The chief aim of the order was missions to the heathen and to heretics. The methods were: pastoral care, preaching, and religious education. To give training in these was their main purpose. The colleges which they established, wherever they could get a foothold, became the chief seats of theological education for two centuries.

2. *Peter Faber* († 1546) began his work in Western Germany at Speyer, Mainz and elsewhere, removed subsequently to Cologne (1543-1544), and with the help of his companions won the lower Rhine and Westphalia back to the Roman Church.

3. *Peter Canisius* († 1597) entered the Jesuit order under the influence of Faber. He laboured at Cologne, Ingolstadt, Vienna, Dillingen, Prague, and other towns, teaching, preaching and building up *Collegia*. He and his associates won Bavaria, Austria and Bohemia back from Protestantism. His Catechisms were widely influential. The *Summa doctrinæ christianæ per quæstiones tradita* (1556) 'remained for about two centuries the principal catechism of the Roman Catholic Church.'²

¹ *Vide Lee, 'Knox,' in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

² *Cohrs, 'Catechisms,' in New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia.*

The Jesuits established in Rome the *Collegium Romanum* (c. 1550) and the *Collegium Germanicum* (1552), which became the great theological institutions of the Roman Church, and so remained for centuries.

The founders of the Jesuit Order in their *Ratio Studiorum* combined the old learning with the new in more harmonious proportions and in better adjustments than did Melanchthon, Calvin, Ximenes or Eck, from whom, however, they learned much. The Scholastic Theology was reformed by falling back from the later corrupt, hair-splitting Scholasticism to the Scholastic Theology of Thomas Aquinas ; and on him was built a newer and, for a time, a sounder Scholastic Theology than the Church had known for centuries. At the same time there was a great revival of Biblical and Patristic studies, and, indeed, in the original languages. While the Jesuit theologians carried this reformation through to success, it must be said that they built upon the reformed Scholasticism and Biblical study that had already begun in Alcalá under Ximenes' influence, at Louvain and at Ingolstadt.¹

The Jesuits also united the theoretical and the practical in theology as these had never been united before ; and while, for two centuries, they trained the best scholars of Europe, they also trained the best preachers, pastors, teachers and missionaries. They built on the ancient method of three gradations of study. The original constitution of the Jesuit Order distinguishes the three grades : the *grammatico-rhetorical*, the *philosophical*, and the *theological* ; and sums up the whole as : ‘ *Litteræ Humaniores diversarum linguarum, Logica, naturalis ac moralis Philosophia, Metaphysica et Theologia, tam quæ Scholastica quam quæ Positiva dicitur, et sacra Scriptura.*’²

The training prescribed in the German college at Rome, as reorganised in 1573, was a course of ten years in philosophy and theology. The grammatical and rhetorical schooling was presupposed. Students were not received, unless properly qualified and specially recommended for real ability, and who were at least twenty years of age. They were placed for six months on probation, and then were required to take the vow for the ministerial life, or else retire from the college. The course of study extended over ten years, three for philosophy and the higher

¹ *Vide* pp. 125 f.

² Cap. v. ; *vide* Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrtenden Unterrichts*, i. p. 381.

sciences, four for Scholastic Theology, and three for Moral Theology. Almost all the great Catholic scholars of Germany were trained here for many generations. The training given for those who were to advance in the Jesuit Order was much more severe and prolonged. A novice, who entered the order at the age of sixteen or eighteen, must spend two years in quiet religious life before the first vow was taken and the *Scholasticus* began his career as a scholar. If he had had the required training in grammar and rhetoric, he might enter at once upon a three years' course of logic, physics and metaphysics; if not, he was obliged to take the preparatory studies first. He was then required to serve for some years as a tutor in the studies already acquired. He might be required to remain in this position all his life. If he was deemed qualified to go on into the study of theology, he entered upon a four years' course, after the completion of which he must be a tutor in theology for two years more, or else take special training as preacher and pastor. The Jesuits in all their instruction, from the rhetorical schools upward, laid great stress upon practical discipline in writing and in speaking, both by declamation and by debate. Their students were made, therefore, ready, graceful speakers, easy and powerful writers, and also adroit and attractive members of society. They were disciplined by frequent confessions, in which not only mortal sins, but the most secret and delicate sins and motions to sin, and all the circumstances of the inner life, were exposed to the confessor; so that they had practical as well as theoretical training in the whole range of moral theology and casuistry. It is not surprising that such discipline in scholarship and in its practical use made them the most adroit and able scholars of Europe in the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

The entire reforming influence of the Roman Church gathered about the Jesuits. Ignatius had as his advisers and strong helpers not only all the popes of his generation, but also the most able of the cardinals and the most capable scholars.

Among the theologians in the Jesuit Order may be mentioned: 4. *Maldonatus* of the University of Salamanca († 1583), who taught at Paris, Bourges and Rome with extraordinary success, and wrote commentaries on the Prophets and the Gospels; 5. *Toletus* († 1596), the first cardinal of the order, eminent as an exegete, and one of the foremost in a long series of celebrated

casuists ; and 6. *Vasquez* (†1604), one of the chief Roman Catholic divines of the sixteenth century,¹ the author of notable works in Moral and Polemic Theology.

11. *The Council of Trent advised the organisation of diocesan seminaries for the religious training of students, especially for the priesthood. Under the influence of Borromeo, Pole and others, these were established with great success, and were called Tridentine Seminaries.*

Two cardinals may be mentioned especially in connection with this work, namely : *Reginald Pole* (1500-1558) of England, and *Carlo Borromeo* (1538-1584) of Milan. These were in hearty sympathy with the educational reforms of Ignatius and his associates ; between them the plan of the theological seminary was devised, and was ordered by the Council of Trent in 1563.

The popes and the bishops now vied with one another in the establishment of diocesan seminaries for the training of the clergy. These were given into the hands of the Jesuits chiefly ; but the other orders, old as well as new, rallied about the plan. The older monastic schools revived ; and the friars and newer orders also, on their part, shared in a measure in this educational reform. The result was the forcing back of Protestantism all along the line. It was not so much religious persecution and the force of arms that stayed the progress of Protestantism in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and reconquered for Rome in that period, and still more in the seventeenth century, so large a part of the original strongholds of Protestantism. Persecution does not usually succeed ; and, in fact, the Protestants were as zealous persecutors as the Roman Catholics, and even more prompt than the Catholics for religious warfare. It was a superior religious education, not only of scholars, but of priests, secular as well as regular, that

¹ *Vide Briggs, Church Unity*, p. 280.

gave the Roman Catholics a succession of victories for more than a century.

Mention has already been made of the work of Faber and his associates at Mainz, Cologne, and the whole lower Rhine and Westphalia ; and that of Canisius and his associates in Southern Germany, Austria, and Bohemia. In Poland the work of *Hosius* († 1579), begun in his college at Braunsberg (1565-1568), won back Poland from Protestantism, and for a while imperilled the Reformation in Sweden. In the north of Italy and in Switzerland *Carlo Borromeo* († 1584) established seminaries and schools, and even Sunday-schools, for children and adults, and destroyed Protestantism thereby in Northern Italy and several of the Cantons of Switzerland. The Protestantism of the Engadine was at one time well-nigh overthrown. *François de Sales* († 1622), bishop of Geneva,¹ worked powerfully in Savoy and French Switzerland ; and even Geneva was in grave peril from the Catholic reaction.

The battle in France was a longer one. The Catholic Church in France was long under the control of the Gallican spirit, which was nationalistic in character, and really put the Church under the domination of the king rather than the pope, and kept the clergy in constant trouble by the conflict of the two jurisdictions. The University of Paris insisted upon its own historic privileges as the dictator of theology, and resisted the Jesuits and the Tridentine Seminaries with all their influences. This undoubtedly hampered the Catholic reform in France. It was not until Louis XIV. came under the influence of the Jesuits, and gave his authority and great power to the establishment of diocesan seminaries, that the intellectual strength of the Catholic reaction began to tell upon the French Protestants. Undoubtedly the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and the severe persecution that followed, had much to do with the overthrow of Protestantism in France ; but not so much as the Tridentine Seminaries, and a better educated Catholic clergy, and Catholic scholars, who succeeded by their superior theological ability in persuading multitudes of Protestants to return to the Mother Church. It is easy to attribute such cases to fear and self-interest ; but in a multitude of instances such motives do not really explain the situation. The Jesuits in the seventeenth century had the potent help of the new foundation of the *Oratorians* (1575), the institution of St. Vincent de Paul (1631),

¹ *Vide* p. 151.

and the Sulpicians (1642), the great educators of modern France.

It may be interesting here to note the rules of Cardinal *Allen* for the Seminary at Douai, in which priests were trained for the English mission. These rules of the year 1580 make the study of the Bible of fundamental importance, and require Greek and Hebrew that the students may understand the Scriptures in the original texts. Church History was to be studied privately; also important patristic works, especially *Bede's*, 'that it may be seen that the ancient Faith was Catholic.' The *Summa of Thomas* was to be taught by lecture and disputation. The doctrine of the Council of Trent and the Roman Catechism were to be studied privately. Morals and cases of conscience were to be discussed publicly. Great stress was laid upon practical studies, including Catechetics, Liturgics and Pastoral Theology. Four public exercises were required each week for drill in public speaking, comprising one practical and two doctrinal sermons, and one disputation on controverted questions of theology.¹ There was no such drill in any Protestant school of theological education.

12. The Greek Church was compelled to consider the questions raised by the Reformation of the Western Church. Her position was defined by her theologians in three symbols. An abortive attempt at reform, led by Cyril Lucar, was productive in the field of theological scholarship.

At the Reformation both Romanists and Protestants strove to win the support of the Greek Church, which eventually defined its position in three symbols: (1) *The Answer of Jeremiah*, (2) *The Confession of Mogilas*, and (3) *The Confession of Dositheus*. A movement toward reform was led by Cyril Lucar, a theologian of European reputation, who sought to introduce into the Greek Church certain of the characteristic doctrines of Calvinism.²

1. Jeremiah, patriarch of Constantinople († 1595), wrote in 1576 an answer to communications from the Lutheran theo-

¹ *Vide Siebengärtner, Schriften und Einrichtungen zur Bildung der Geistlichen*, pp. 119 seq.

² *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, pp. 200 seq.

logians *Andreae* and *Crusius*, which was approved by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672. All of the distinctive doctrines of the Protestant Reformation were rejected with the exception of the institutional matters of communion in both kinds and the marriage of priests.

2. *Petrus Mogilas* († 1647), metropolitan of Kieff, and father of Russian orthodoxy, was trained in the University of Paris, and chosen by Cyril Lucar as exarch of his see. Mogilas published editions of the Fathers and several Service Books, and is an example of the great learning to be found among Russian ecclesiastics.¹ His Confession of Faith, written in the form of a Catechism, was revised and adopted by a provincial synod at Kieff (1640), and again by a synod of Greeks and Russians at Jassy (1643), under the influence of *Meletius Syriga*, metropolitan of Nice, and was signed by the four eastern patriarchs. It thus became the symbol of the entire Russo-Greek Church. It defines the faith of the Greek Church against Protestantism on the one hand and Romanism on the other, and is especially directed against Cyril Lucar.

3. *Dositheus*, patriarch of Jerusalem (1699-1707), is called by Meyer 'one of the most important figures of the modern Greek Church.' His great work on the history of the patriarchs of Jerusalem (1715) is 'the Greek counterpart to the Annals of Baronius and the Magdeburg Centuries.'² The Confession of Dositheus was adopted by the Synod of Jerusalem (1672), and afterwards signed by sixty-eight bishops of the Greek and Russian Churches. It is less complete and more polemic than the Confession of Mogilas, but the doctrinal position is the same.

4. *Cyril Lucar* (1572-1638), 'the one brilliant star of his age'³ in the East, was born in Crete, and studied at Alexandria, Venice and Padua. He came under the influence of *Maximos Margunios*, an earnest advocate of the reunion of the Greek and Roman Churches, and of several of the Protestant theologians. In 1602 he was made patriarch of Alexandria, and, though banished five times, was as often recalled. Finally he was chosen patriarch of Constantinople (1620), and this position gave great importance to the publication of his Confession of Faith (Latin, 1629; Greek, 1633). It was condemned, however, by several provincial synods. According to Cyril, 'The authority of Holy Scripture is far greater than that of the Church; for it is a

¹ *Vide Adeney, The Greek and Eastern Churches*, pp. 411 seq.

² Meyer, 'Dositheus,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

³ *Adeney, Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 320.

different thing to be taught by the Holy Spirit from being taught by man. Man may through ignorance err and deceive, and be deceived. But the Holy Spirit neither deceiveth, nor is deceived, nor is subject to error, but is infallible.'¹ Cyril undertook the translation of the Bible into the vernacular. It was he who presented to Charles I. of England the great *Codex Alexandrinus*. Through his recommendation the brilliant *Metrophanes Critopoulos* received his training at Oxford. Among Cyril's numerous followers were *Karyophylles*, the noted Calvinist, *Konopios*, translator of Calvin's *Institutes*, and *Kalliupolites*, translator of the Scriptures. *Cornelius Haga*, Dutch ambassador to the Porte, declared in 1632 that there was no one among the many metropolitans then at Constantinople who was not prepared to sacrifice 'his person, his life and his goods for the defence of the patriarch and his Confession.'² Yet the bitter enmity of the Jesuits finally secured his death by order of the sultan on a false charge of treason.

¹ *Vide* Adeney, *Greek and Eastern Churches*, p. 318.

² *Vide* Gieseler, v. p. 134, n. 34.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

IN the Roman Catholic Church the Reformation was, to a great extent, a reform of education and a revival of theology. But in the Protestant world there was a serious decline in theological education, although there were revivals here and there, especially among the Calixtines of Germany and the Puritans of England. The successors of the Reformers reverted to the scholastic philosophy of Aristotle ; and Protestant Scholasticism became as barren, hopeless, and irreformable as the Mediæval. There was the same incessant strife of schools and parties over merely theoretic questions of theology. This is the period of the *Formula of Concord* (1576), the *Synod of Dort* (1619), and the *Zürich Consensus* (1549), and of the ecclesiasticism of Laud († 1645), but also of the retreat of Protestantism all along the line.

The universities of Germany sank so low that their situation seemed hopeless.¹ Even *Leibnitz* († 1716), the greatest scholar of his time, did not think of the revival of learning in connection with universities, but through the association of scholars apart from universities. He thought travel and intercourse with learned men and men of affairs of much more importance than a university education ; and so they were in his day. English historians do not give adequate consideration to the peril

¹ *Vide Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten*, 1896², i. pp. 495 seq., 511 seq.; *German Universities*, p. 55; *Döllinger, Universities Past and Present*, pp. 11 seq., 14.

of Protestantism in the sixteenth, and especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, from a theological point of view. The people of England realised it, as shown by the Guy Fawkes scare ; and 'no popery' was branded into the very blood of the English people, and is there to-day. The clergy, Anglican and Nonconformist alike, realised it at the time ; and, notwithstanding the bitter conflicts in which they were engaged, they combined to save themselves from the greater evil of Rome by the British Revolution. I know of no more desperate literary battle, none more severe, comprehensive, and thorough, than that waged from 1687 to 1689 between Catholic and Protestant writers in England. If James II. had been an abler man and a wiser politician, it is quite possible that he might have become the Louis XIV. of England, and English Protestantism might have shared the fate of the French. Now it was the priests trained in the English Catholic seminary at Douai, France (transferred for a time to Rheims), at the English Seminary in Rome, and those in Spain and Portugal, that carried on this theological battle against the best scholars of the Church of England and the Nonconformists ; and from the scholar's point of view it cannot be said that the Protestant scholars had always the best of the argument. It was the sturdy Protestantism of Sweden that saved Protestantism in Northern Germany, and the sturdy Protestantism of Holland and Scotland that saved England, and that by success in war rather than by superiority in theological scholarship.

In the third quarter of the seventeenth century the Counter-Reformation was triumphant. In the last quarter of the century Protestantism organised a more sturdy and effectual resistance. In the eighteenth century Protestantism began to gain ground, and continued to do so all through the century. This was due to several influences, but, from the point of view of theological study, largely to the decline in efficiency of Roman Catholic education. The Jesuit Order had become wealthy and haughty, self-seeking and possessed of the evil spirits of domination and falsehood. This made them hated by the secular clergy and the regulars of the other orders. Their strife for wealth and political power made them a peril in civil politics, and gradually produced the universal feeling that they were a political

menace. This brought about the banishment of the order from many countries, and at last its temporary abolition by the pope (1773). The worldly spirit of the order suppressed the religious and the intellectual spirit ; and the ability of its members in theological scholarship became weakened. Furthermore, the Jesuits refused to adapt themselves to the spirit of the age, and persisted in their ultra-conservative adherence to the older methods. Their Scholastic Theology had become perverted into a newer Scholasticism that was worse in some respects, especially on the ethical side, than the corrupt Scholasticism that preceded the Reformation. The society thought more of making successful men of the world than of making pious priests and scholarly teachers. The *Ratio Studiorum* (1599) was still followed in the Jesuit schools, but in a pedantic, mechanical, traditional way. Ignatius had introduced the new learning of his age, and harmonised it with the old ; but the Jesuits of the eighteenth century were hostile to the new learning of their times. The order refused the science and philosophy and history which characterised the new learning of the eighteenth century. They insisted upon the absolute authority of the Aristotelian Philosophy and of the Scholastic Theology, and would allow no deviation from it.

In 1730-1731 the General Congregation of the Order decided against the allowance of liberty of opinion in philosophy, which had been requested by several provinces of the order, and resolved:

(1) Nothing is in contradiction with the Aristotelian philosophy, and all the phenomena of nature must be explained in accordance therewith.

(2) The philosophy of Aristotle must remain, according to the constitution and rules of the order, not only for logic and metaphysics, but also for physics, where the peripatetic doctrine of the nature and constitution of natural bodies must be maintained.¹

¹ Pachtler, *Ratio Studiorum*, i. 104; *vide* Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrtent Unterrichts*, ii. pp. 103 seq.

The Jesuit schools were thus made antagonistic to the new learning of the eighteenth century—that is, to natural science and the inductive methods of study, to the modern philosophy of Descartes, Locke and Leibnitz, as the Obscurants of Cologne had been opposed to the new learning of the sixteenth century. They also held fast to the supremacy of the Latin language in education, and resisted the growth of modern national literature. In other words, the Jesuits of the eighteenth century were formalists and pedants ; they retained the form of the rules of Ignatius and the other founders of the order, but they had altogether lost their spirit.

Thus inevitably theological education declined all over the Roman Catholic world, as it advanced through the Protestant world.

The eighteenth century was a bad century for religion everywhere. The reaction against the Scholastic Theology of Protestants and Catholics alike was so bitter, and the determination to get rid of its intolerable dogmatism so thorough, that Deism, Pantheism, Atheism and Rationalism took the place of the Christian religion to a considerable portion of the learned world. The inevitable result was the French Revolution, with all its serious consequences for education as well as for religion. It was Pietism which saved German and Dutch Protestantism, and Methodism that saved Anglo-Saxon Protestantism from the utter ruin into which Scholasticism and Ecclesiasticism had brought the Protestant Churches.

1. France was the centre of theological learning for the Roman Catholic Church during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ; and the Jesuits, Benedictines, and Oratorians produced the greatest number of eminent theologians.

The Jesuits became noted especially for their work in the departments of Moral Theology and Canon Law.

Among the celebrated casuists of the order may be mentioned : (1) *Sanchez* († 1610), (2) *Suarez* († 1617), and (3) *Cardinal de Lugo*

(† 1660); among the canonists, (4) *Labbeus* († 1667), whose collection of conciliar decrees was completed by *Cossart*; and (5) *Harduin* († 1729), author of the *Conciliorum collectio regia maxima*. The Biblical scholars of the order included the popular exegete (6) *Cornelius a Lapide* (Van den Steen, † 1637), whose commentaries cover almost the whole Bible; and (7) *Menochius* († 1655), whose work, according to Kihn,¹ is too little known. Pre-eminent among the Jesuits of his day was (8) the cardinal, *Robert Bellarmine* († 1621), Biblical exegete, dogmatic theologian, and author of a catechism printed in many languages and many editions, of an epoch-making work, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, and of the famous *Disputationes de controversiis Christianæ fidei*. (9) *Petavius* († 1652) also brought honour to the order by his work as Biblical scholar, Church historian and dogmatic theologian. He greatly promoted the study of ecclesiastical Chronology, and won the title of 'Father of the History of Dogma.' The most notable work of the Society in the department of Church History was done by (10) *Sirmond* († 1651), in his editions of Church Writers; (11) *Maimbourg* († 1686), in his histories of schisms from the Roman Church, both Greek and Protestant; and (12) *Jan Bolland* († 1665), with whom began the publication of the *Acta Sanctorum*, continued under his name to the present time.²

Among the scholars trained by the Jesuits may be mentioned: (1) *Valesius* († 1676), noted for his editions of the early Church historians; (2) *Du Cange* († 1688), who made valuable contributions to the study of the Middle Ages, and published *Glossaria ad scriptores mediae et infimae aetatis*, both Greek and Latin; (3) *Baluze* († 1718), who carried on the work of Labbé and Cossart, and published *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, and other important historical works; (4) *Huetius* († 1721), editor of Origen's Commentaries; (5) *Febronius* (Von Hontheim, † 1790), author of the famous treatise *De statu ecclesiæ et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis*; (6) *Gerbert* († 1793), celebrated for his *Monumenta veteris liturgiæ Alemannicæ* and his works on sacred music.

The *Benedictine* Order rendered invaluable service to Historical Theology, especially through the labours of

¹ *Vide* Kihn, *Encyklopädie der Theologie*, p. 253.

² The 'Bollandists' are still far from the end of their great enterprise, although they have gone through the calendar as far as November. A new edition of their work has appeared in sixty-six volumes (Brussels, 1863-1911).

the *Congregatio Sancti Mauri*, which numbered over one hundred and eighty cloisters, and had its centre in Paris, at the Abbey Saint Germain des Prés.

The most distinguished of the scholars of Saint Maur were : (1) *D'Achery* (*Dacherius*, † 1685), noted for his *Spicilegium veterum aliquot scriptorum*; (2) *Mabillon* († 1707), his collaborator and successor as historian of the order, a pioneer in the preparation of those editions of the Fathers and Church Writers for which his Congregation became famous, and author of works of exceptional importance in the departments of Church History and Liturgies, of an epoch-making work, *De re diplomatica* (1681), by which was laid the foundation for Ecclesiastical Diplomatics,¹ and of a treatise in defence of the study of theology in monasteries; (3) *Ruinart* († 1709), celebrated for his *Acta sincera primorum martyrum*; (4) *Martianay* († 1717), who published an edition of Jerome; (5) *Ruæus* (*De la Rue*, † 1736), editor of Origen's works; (6) *Edmond Mariène* († 1739), a pupil of D'Achery and Mabillon, collaborator in several of the great enterprises of his Congregation, and author of monumental works, including a collection of ancient ecclesiastical rites and the famous *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum collectio amplissima*; (7) *Montfaucon* († 1741), editor of Origen's *Hexapla*, and of the works of Chrysostom and Athanasius, whose many valuable contributions to theology include a collection of the Greek Fathers and Church Writers; (8) *Prudentius Maranus* († 1762), noted for his critical editions of the Fathers, and for works on the divinity of Christ. This Congregation also undertook the revision and continuation of the *Gallia christiana*, and published the celebrated *Histoire littéraire de la France*, *L'Art de vérifier les dates des faits historiques*, and Le Nourry's *Apparatus ad bibliothecam maximam patrum veterum*. Among the Church Historians of the Benedictine Order should be mentioned : (9) the abbot, *Claude Fleury* († 1723), whose *Histoire ecclésiastique* (in twenty volumes) became 'almost a classic among the French, and supplanted all other works of the kind';² and (10) *Remy Ceillier* († 1761), famous for his *Histoire générale des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques*. The Benedictines could also boast of possessing in (11) *Augustin Calmet* († 1757) the most notable Biblical exegete of the Roman Catholic Church in the eighteenth century.

¹ *Vide Schmitz-Kallenberg*, 'Die Lehre von den Papsturkunden,' in *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*, i. p. 174.

² *Gieseler*, v. p. 240.

The original *Congregatio Oratorii* was founded by *Philip of Neri* (1564).

Among its first members was (1) *Cæsar Baronius* († 1607), afterwards cardinal, who published over against the *Magdeburg Centuries* his *Annales ecclesiastici*,¹ enriched by the use of hitherto unknown documents from the Vatican archives and papal library, but criticised by Protestants as compiled *sine ullo judicio*.² The Congregation founded at Paris by *Pierre de Bérulle* (1611), under the same name, produced such scholars as (2) *Jean Morin* (Morinus, † 1656), Biblical scholar, and author of the celebrated *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiæ ordinationibus*; (3) *Thomassin* († 1695), who wrote the *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'église*, and other important works; (4) *Richard Simon* († 1712), who applied historical criticism in a systematic manner to the study of the books of the Old Testament,³ and also wrote on the Greek and Oriental Churches; (5) *Renaudot* († 1720), who prepared a collection of Oriental liturgies, and a history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria; (6) *Houbigant* († 1783), whose *Biblia Hebraica* offered a new recension of the text; and (7) *Massillon* († 1742), celebrated for the eloquence of his sermons. Sacred music was cultivated by this Congregation to a remarkable degree, and in the Oratory at Paris originated the first musical *Oratorio*.⁴

Theological scholarship was not confined to these three orders. The *Dominicans* could boast of

(1) *Goar* († 1653), author of the *Euchologium Græcorum* (1645, 1730); (2) *Combeufis* († 1679), the Patristic scholar; and (3) *Natalis Alexander* († 1724), provincial of his order, who made important contributions to Dogmatics, Ethics and Church History.

Among the doctors and teachers of the *Sorbonne*, Paris, were :

(1) *Richer* (Richerius, † 1631), the celebrated canonist and defender of the liberties of the Gallican Church; (2) *Jean de Launoi* († 1678), an historical critic in the field of Hagiology; (3) *Cotelier* († 1686), the Patristic scholar; (4) *Bossuet* († 1704), the most learned, eloquent and influential bishop of France in

¹ *Vide* p. 113.

² So *Scaliger*, quoted by *Heinrichi*, *Theologische Encyklopädie*, p. 190.

³ *Vide* *Briggs*, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 274 seq.

⁴ *Vide* *Gieseler*, v. p. 119, n. 5.

his day, chief composer of the famous Four Propositions of the Gallican Church (1682), and author of the *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* and of many other important works; (5) *Du Pin* († 1719), the founder of Patrology as an independent theological discipline, whose many valuable works include a *Méthode pour étudier la théologie*.

The Jansenists also had their notable scholars :

(1) *Cornelius Jansen* († 1638), professor of theology at Louvain, and eventually bishop of Ypres, was distinguished as a Biblical exegete. His *Augustinus*, the fruit of twenty-two years of toil, published posthumously (1640), excited bitter opposition from the Jesuits, and gave rise to the Jansenist Controversy. (2) *Blaise Pascal* († 1662), a man of exceptional learning, in whom the scientific and the mystic tendencies were strangely combined, is now known chiefly for his *Pensées*, which rank as a religious classic, and for his *Lettres provinciales* (1656), which were universally read in their day, and exposed the errors of the Jesuits as teachers of morals in a 'masterpiece of satire.' (3) *Le Nain de Tillemont* († 1698) is celebrated for his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*. (4) *Arnauld* († 1694) and (5) *Nicole* († 1695), remarkable for their apologetic and polemic writings over against the Jesuits and the Reformed Churches. (6) *Paschasius Quesnel* († 1719), priest of the *Oratoire* at Paris, was driven from France as a Jansenist. He prepared a French translation of the New Testament, accompanied by *Réflexions morales*, which was strongly approved by *De Noailles*, archbishop of Paris, and other leaders of the French Church, but was condemned by the papal bull *Unigenitus* in one hundred and one propositions.

Italy also had theologians of distinction, especially in the eighteenth century, among whom may be mentioned :

(1) *Leo Allatius* († 1669), 'the most celebrated of all the so-called Latinising Greeks';¹ (2) *Muratori* († 1750), who gave his name to the *Muratorian Canon*, and published many other hitherto unknown or inaccessible works, including *Liturgia Romana vetus*; (3) *Mansi* († 1769), archbishop of Lucca, whose great collection of conciliar decrees is now appearing in a new and enlarged edition; (4) *Ugolino* (c. 1750), author of *Thesaurus antiquitatum sacrarum*; (5-7) three celebrated members of the family *Assemani*: *Giuseppe Simoni* († 1768), editor of the works of

¹ Gieseler, v. p. 249.

Ephræm Syrus, and author of *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*; his brother, *Giuseppe Aloysio* († 1782), who published among other monumental works a *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universæ*; and their cousin, *Stefano Evodo* († 1784), whose works include *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*; (8) *Alfonso Maria di Liguori* († 1787), saint and doctor of the Church, founder of the Order of Redemptorists (1732), and noted for his *Theologia moralis*.

The leading *Mystics* of the period were :

(1) *François de Sales* († 1622), a pupil of the Jesuit *Possevin*, who has been canonised, and ranks as a doctor of the Church; (2) *Molinos* († 1697), a Spanish priest, celebrated at Rome as preacher and confessor, whose *Guida spirituale* exerted extraordinary influence among both Catholics and Protestants, yet brought condemnation upon him through Jesuit influence; and (3) *Fénelon* († 1715), instructor of princes, who sought to 'reconcile Quietism with orthodoxy.'¹

2. The Puritan movement in England was essentially a Biblical movement. The Puritans urged a more thorough study of the Scriptures, a catechetical instruction of the people, and effective preaching. In dogma they used the doctrine of the Covenant as a structural principle, over against the Scholastic method.

The reformers were men of great intellectual and moral vigour. Their doctrines were the expression of their Christian life and experience. But they were succeeded by lesser men, who gave their energies to the construction of systems of dogma. These soon enveloped the principles of the Reformation in a cloud of speculation and established a Protestant Scholasticism, Ecclesiasticism, and Ritualism, which seemed to earnest men little better than that which the reformers had cast aside. Accordingly a second reformation arose in Great Britain in the form of Puritanism, which reaffirmed and sharpened the principles of the Reformation and advanced toward a holy doctrine, a holy discipline, and a holy life.²

¹ Gieseler, v. p. 174.

² *Vide Briggs, Church Unity*, pp. 317 seq.

Puritanism emphasised the fundamental religious principle of Protestantism, that the Bible is the chief medium of divine authority and grace, and laid down principles of interpretation, which wrought mightily during the seventeenth century in Great Britain, and produced exegetical works that ought to be the pride of the Anglo-Saxon Churches in all time. The Puritans laid stress upon practical exegesis, or the application of the Scriptures to the Christian life. The great majority of their writings are upon themes comprehended by the term *Practical Divinity*.¹

The eminent scholars among the Puritans and the members of the Westminster Assembly were, for the most part, trained in the English universities.

Cambridge can boast of : (1) *Thomas Cartwright* († 1603), chief of the English Puritans, and the father of English Presbyterianism, who wrote a *Treatise of the Christian Religion* (1611, 1616), in which, like Vermigli and Hemmingsen, he arranged his material on the principle of the Law and the Gospel—an example followed by the Puritans generally ; (2) *William Perkins* († 1602), whose *Golden Chaine*, an attempt to work out the order of the divine decrees, stirred up controversy not only in England, but all over the Calvinistic world ; (3) *William Ames* († 1633), who carried the principle of the Covenant into Holland ; (4) *Herbert Palmer* († 1647), whose catechism became the basis of the *Westminster Larger Catechism*, and whose *Memorials of Godliness and Christianity* are equal, if not superior, to Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living* ; (5) *William Gouge* († 1653), 'the father of the London divines, and the oracle of his time' ; (6) *Stephen Marshall* († 1655), the most influential member of the Westminster Assembly in ecclesiastical affairs ; (7) *Edmund Calamy* († 1666), who with Marshall and others prepared the famous *Answer of Smectymnuus* to the *Humble Remonstrance* of Joseph Hall, which *Answer* became the platform of the Presbyterian as the *Remonstrance* was that of the Episcopal party ; (8) *Anthony Tuckney* († 1670), one of the most active members of the Westminster Assembly ; (9) *John Milton* († 1674), who for twenty years produced chiefly prose works on behalf of the Puritan cause ; (10) *John Lightfoot* († 1675), author

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 260 seq.; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 155, 467, 573, 651 seq.

of *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, and important Biblical works ; (11) *Matthew Poole* († 1679), the great Presbyterian critic of the seventeenth century, whose masterpiece, the *Synopsis criticorum*, is a monument of Biblical learning.¹

The University of Oxford sent forth such scholars as : (1) *John Reynolds* († 1607), one of the translators of King James' Version of the Bible ; (2) *Nicholas Byfield* († 1622), whose *Principles, or Pattern of Wholesome Words*, is a valuable compend of divinity ; (3) *John Ball* († 1640), one of the fathers of Presbyterianism in England, and the author of treatises on Faith and on the Covenant of Grace of exceeding value ; (4) *Edward Leigh* († 1671), who ranks among the best Biblical scholars of the century ; (5) *Edward Reynolds* († 1676), one of the master spirits of the Westminster Assembly ; (6) *John Owen* († 1683), the polemic divine, who gave to Puritan Theology a scholastic type which it did not possess before ; (7) *John Durie* († 1689), the great peacemaker, who tried to rally the Christians of his time on what he called *Practical Theology* ; that is, such doctrines of Faith and Morals as are of practical importance.²

Eminent among the Puritan leaders unconnected with the English universities were :

(1) *Andrew Melville* († 1622), a pupil of Ramus and of Beza. As reformer Melville led the battle against prelacy in Scotland ; as a teacher at Glasgow and St. Andrews he 'led the revolt against the mediaeval method of studying Aristotle, and created a taste for Greek letters.'³ His last years were spent in exile, teaching theology at the Academy of Sedan.⁴ (2) *James Ussher* († 1656), a pupil of *Travers* at Trinity College, Dublin, became eventually archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland. He drew up the *Irish Articles of Religion*, and proposed a *Reduction of Episcopacy unto the Form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church*.⁵ Ussher also wrote *Annales Veteris Testamenti*, a monumental work on the Apostles' Creed, notable contributions

¹ *Vide* Briggs, articles on 'Cartwright,' 'Perkins,' 'Palmer,' 'Gouge,' 'Marshall,' 'Calamy,' 'Tuckney,' and 'Poole, in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia; Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 149, 459, 575; American Presbyterianism, pp. 41 seq., 200.

² *Vide* Briggs, articles on 'Byfield' and 'Ball' in Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia ; also those on 'Durie,' *ibid.* (1st edition), and in *Presbyterian Review*, 1887, vol. viii. pp. 297 seq. ; *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 162, 225 seq., 462 seq.

³ Sandys, ii. p. 247.

⁴ *Vide* p. 158.

⁵ *Vide* Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Appendix II. pp. xvii seq.

to Church History, especially in the department of Patristics, and a Chronology of the Bible still in use. (3) *Samuel Rutherford* († 1661), the Scottish Covenanter, a graduate of Edinburgh University, was an able, though bitter, controversialist. (4) *John Bunyan* († 1688), the Baptist preacher and 'immortal dreamer,' set forth in his *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Holy War* the Puritan conception of human life as a battle with evil, and gave in this respect the most popular and best exposition of the ethical side of Puritanism. (5) *Richard Baxter* († 1691), one of the greatest of English theologians, acquired exceptional learning without a university education. He is now chiefly known as the author of the *Reformed Pastor*, *A Call to the Unconverted* and the *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, and is honoured by Churchmen and Nonconformists alike as one who 'in a stormy and divided age advocated unity and comprehension, pointing the way to everlasting rest.'¹

The reviving influences of the Puritan movement were not confined to the Puritan party.

Among the notable theologians of the period were the Cambridge scholars: (1) *Brian Walton* († 1661), whose Polyglot Bible was the greatest critical achievement of the seventeenth century; (2) *John Pearson* († 1686), author of a standard exposition of the Apostles' Creed, of *Vindiciæ epistolarum S. Ignatii*, and of other important critical works; (3) *William Cave* († 1713), the eminent Patristic scholar; also the great divines: (4) *Lancelot Andrewes* († 1626), now known chiefly through his *Private Devotions*; (5) *George Herbert* († 1633), famous, not only for his sacred verse, but also for his treatise on the *Country Parson*; (6) *John Cosin* († 1672), prelate and controversialist, who made a *Collection of Private Devotions in the Practice of the Ancient Church*; (7) *Jeremy Taylor* († 1667), 'the Chrysostom of England,' author of *A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying*, a *Rule of Conscience*, the *Great Exemplar*, the *Worthy Communicant*, and *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and of Holy Dying*.

Among the theologians of Oxford may be mentioned: (1) the poet and preacher, *John Donne* († 1631); (2) *William Chillingworth* († 1644), who, in his *Religion of Protestants*, declared the Bible to be 'that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe . . . as a perfect rule of their faith and actions';²

¹ *Vide* Briggs, article on 'Eaxter' in *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*; *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 44 seq., 53.

² *Vide* article on 'Chillingworth' in *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

(3) *John Hales* († 1656), 'the ever-memorable,' whose *Golden Remains* contain letters from the Synod of Dort; (4) *Henry Hammond* († 1660), who wrote his *Paraphrase and Annotations upon . . . the New Testament* in the spirit of Erasmus; (5) *Edward Pococke* († 1691), Oriental and Biblical scholar, who gathered in the East rich spoils of Arabic literature; (6) *John Mill* († 1707), noted for his critical edition of the New Testament; (7) *Joseph Bingham* († 1723), who wrote on Christian Antiquities; and (8) *Humphrey Prideaux* († 1724), who connected the Old and New Testaments with the history of the Jews and the neighbouring nations.

Mention must also be made of the founder of the Society of Friends, *George Fox* († 1691), who urged the following of the Inner Light; and of the apologist of that society, *Robert Barclay* († 1690), a theologian of exceptional learning and ability.

3. In the Netherlands theological scholarship revived in the newly founded universities, the Arminian movement, and the Federal School of Theology. Among the Arminians of Holland, especially the scholars of Leyden, the Humanistic spirit found expression.

William of Orange founded the *University of Leyden* in 1575, with *Louis Cappell*¹ as the first professor of theology. Ten years later the *University of Franecker* was established, to be followed in the next century by those of *Groningen* (1612), *Utrecht* (1636), and *Harderwyk* (1648). The University of Leyden 'became for Holland what Wittenberg had been to Germany, Geneva to Switzerland, and Saumur to France.'²

Among the great scholars that taught at Leyden were the theologians: (1) *Junius* (Du Jon, † 1602), a pupil of Calvin; (2) *Scaliger* (De la Scala, † 1609), 'the leading philologist of France,' who laid the foundations for the science of Chronology; (3) *Drusius* (Van den Driesche, † 1616), Biblical scholar and exegete; (4) *Arminius* († 1609), a pupil of *Lambertus Danæus* at Leyden, and of *Beza* and *Grynæus* at Geneva and Basel.

¹ *Vide* p. 158.

² *Lindsay, History of the Reformation*, ii. p. 264.

Arminius became professor of theology at Leyden in 1603, and soon aroused the opposition of his colleague, *Gomarus*, by his interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans. He also came into conflict with *William Perkins* of Cambridge.¹ In the controversy which raged about him and his followers, Arminius attained such pre-eminence that his name was given to all subsequent forms of the milder Augustinianism in the Reformed Churches.²

Episcopius († 1643), professor at Leyden, and *Uytenbogaert* († 1644), preacher at the Hague, were prominent among the Arminians. But the flower of the movement was (5) *Hugo Grotius* (1583-1645), the greatest scholar of his age, a pupil of Scaliger and of Uytenbogaert, and a supporter of Barneveldt in his efforts to maintain peace in the Church. Grotius revived the Humanism of Erasmus, and in his Annotations on the Scriptures laid stress upon the historical interpretation. In this he was followed by the Arminians generally, and especially by *Clericus* (Le Clerc, † 1736). The numerous writings of Grotius include valuable theological works in the departments of Dogmatics, Irenics, Polemics, Church History, Liturgics, and Canon Law.

Important service to the study of theology was also rendered by the Arabic scholar, (6) *Erpenius* († 1624), and his celebrated pupils, *Louis Cappell*, the Younger,³ and (7) *Louis de Dieu* († 1642); by (8) *Voss* († 1649), who became unpopular at Leyden because of his sympathy with the Remonstrants, and gave his last years to the University of Amsterdam (1632-1649); and by (9) *Rivetus*, the Huguenot († 1651), one of the chief Reformed divines of the Continent.

Among the *Anti-Remonstrants* may be mentioned: (10) *Jacob Revius* († 1658), Hebrew scholar and controversialist; and (11) *Voëtius* († 1676), professor at Utrecht, whose influence helped to establish a Protestant traditional orthodoxy in the Dutch schools.⁴

The Arminian movement, defeated by Dutch Scholasticism, passed over into England, and especially

¹ *Vide* p. 152.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 211 seq.

³ *Vide* p. 155.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 147.

into the Anglican Church, in the author of the London Polyglot, in *Hammond*, *Pococke*, *Whitby*, *Lowth*, and *John Taylor* of Norwich (who greatly influenced German Theology in its reform in the eighteenth century), and in Wesley took the form of Evangelical Arminianism.

The principle of the Covenant, passing over into Holland with the English Puritan *Ames*, gave birth to the Covenant Theology of *Cocceius* and *Witsius*.

*Ames*¹ became professor of theology at Franecker in 1622, and rector of the university four years later. Among his pupils was (12) *Cocceius* († 1669), the father of the Federal School in Holland, who was called to Franecker in 1636, and to Leyden in 1650. In addition to his famous *Summa doctrina de fœdere et testamento Dei* (1648, 1654), he made important contributions to Biblical Philology, Theology, and Exegesis, and to the departments of Dogmatics, Ethics, and Catechetics. Among the pupils of *Cocceius* was (13) *Vitrunga* († 1722), professor at Franecker, celebrated for his commentaries, and his works on Sacred History and Chronology, and on Biblical and Practical Theology. (14) *Hermann Witsius* († 1708), Biblical theologian and leader of the Dutch Federal School, taught at the Universities of Franecker, Utrecht and Leyden, published a notable work, *De œconomia fœderum Dei cum hominibus*, treatises on the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Christian Faith, the Character of a True Theologian, and important Biblical works.

The Covenant Theology of *Cocceius* and *Witsius* influenced German Pietism, but eventually combined with Scholasticism to form a new Scholasticism, especially in Scotland and America.

4. *The critical principle reasserted itself mightily in the French School of Saumur, and a freer type of Theology was there maintained.*²

There were in France, in the seventeenth century, six Protestant academies, all modelled after those of Strasburg and Geneva: namely, *Nîmes* (1561), irenic in

¹ *Vide* p. 152. *Ames* published his *Medulla theologica* in 1623 (English, 1642).

² *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 222.

spirit; *Saumur* (1593), mildly Calvinistic and progressive; *Montauban* (1597) and *Sedan* (c. 1602), both Scholastic; *Orthez* (1566) and *Die* (c. 1596), both insignificant. The Academies of Saumur, Sedan and Montauban took an active part in theological controversy, and became centres of theological learning. The foreign element was always strong, especially in Saumur and Sedan; and Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, and Scotland contributed to the faculties of the French Academies as well as to the student bodies. Scotland gave 'a Pleiades of distinguished men.'¹

(I.) The Academy of *Nîmes* was originally a school of grammar and logic, civil and canon law, dating from the fourteenth century. Early in the sixteenth century it was transformed after the model of the School of the Three Languages² at Paris, and under the inspiration of the pedagogic principles of Sturm of Strasburg. In 1561 the Protestant consistory added to it a school of theology with four professors, one for Hebrew, one for Greek, one for philosophy, and one for doctrine. The only famous teacher of theology in this academy was *Pierre Viret*.³

(II.) The Academy of *Orthez* was founded in 1566 with professors of theology, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, mathematics and music. *Viret* taught there in 1571, and *Lambert Daneau* in 1583-1593.

(III.) *Sedan* was organised as a College in 1579; the Academy proper was established in 1602. Among the famous teachers of theology at this institution were *Louis Cappell* (1576-1586), who came to Sedan from Leyden;⁴ *Jacques Cappell* (1599-1624), a nephew of Louis; *Daniel Tilénus* (1600-1620), *Andrew Melville*⁵ (1611-1620), and *Le Blanc de Beaulieu* (1644-1675). Philosophy was taught here by *John Cameron* (1602-1604) and by *Pierre Bayle* (1675-1681). Other illustrious names might be added. *Pierre du Moulin* (1621-1658), who had taught philosophy at Leyden, is said to have 'acquired at Sedan an influence equal to that which *Amyraut* enjoyed at Saumur'.⁶

(IV.) The School of *Montauban* was founded in 1597. One of

¹ Bourchenin, *Étude sur les Académies Protestantes en France au XVI^e et au XVII^e Siècle*, 1882, p. 402.

² Le collège royal des trois langues.

³ *Vide* p. 127.

⁴ *Vide* p. 155.

⁵ *Vide* p. 153.

⁶ Bourchenin, *Les Académies protestantes en France*, pp. 428 seq.

its first professors of theology was *Daniel Chamier* (1612-1621). *John Cameron* taught there in 1624-1625, and *Jean Claude* in 1662-1666. Claude was 'regarded in his day as the soul of the Reformed party in France.'¹ In theology the school of Montauban mediated between those of Sedan and Saumur.

(V.) *Die* had a college in 1596, and an academy of theology c. 1604. *Daniel Chamier* presided there in 1607-1608; and *John Sharp* taught theology in 1607-1629.

(VI.) The Academy of *Saumur* was founded in 1593 by the great general, *Duplessis-Mornay*, and became the most famous of all the French academies. There were chairs of theology, Greek, Hebrew, and philosophy.

Saumur had several great divines: *John Cameron*, *Josué de la Place*, and *Amyraut*, theologians who taught mediate imputation and hypothetic universalism; and *Ludovicus Cappellus*, the greatest Biblical critic of his age.

(1) *John Cameron* of Glasgow († 1625) taught theology at *Saumur* (1618-1622), and impressed his views upon his illustrious pupil, *Amyraut*. (2) *Moïse Amyraut* (*Amyraldus*, 1596-1664) was a teacher at *Saumur* for thirty-eight years. As early as the year 1634 he created great excitement by the publication of a *Traité de la prédestination*. His important work includes a System of Christian Morals (in six volumes). (3) *Placeus* (*De La Place*, 1596-1655) was also a follower of *Cameron*, and taught theology at *Saumur* for nearly a quarter of a century. In his *Disputatio de imputatione primi peccati Adami* (1655) he asserted the doctrine of *mediate imputation* as alone justifiable on moral grounds.² (4) *Louis Cappell*, the Younger (*Cappellus*, 1585-1658), nephew of the elder *Louis* and brother of *Jacques*, taught Hebrew and theology at *Saumur* for forty-four years, and became the most eminent Biblical scholar of his day. Falling back on the views of the Jewish scholar, *Elias Levita* († 1549), and of the Protestant reformers, *Cappellus* denied the verbal inspiration of the Masoretic Biblical text, showed that the Hebrew vowel points were not original, and that there were different readings of the text, and laid stress upon grammatical and historical exegesis. He was sustained by the French theologians generally, and by

¹ Gieseler, v. p. 351.

² Vide Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 213 seq.; also *Placeus*, *De statu hominis lapsi ante gratiam*, 1640.

the body of English critics. Cocceius first gave his name to the public as author of the anonymous work, *Arcanum punctuationis revelatum* (1624). This work remained unanswered and wrought powerfully for nearly a quarter of a century, when the younger Buxtorf undertook to maintain against Cappellus the traditional Rabbinical position. The three universities of Sedan, Geneva, and Leyden were roused to such opposition to Cappellus, that they sought to prevent the publication of his great work, the *Critica sacra*. It appeared, however, in 1650, and proved to be the first of a series of corresponding productions.

These great scholars of Saumur taught large bodies of students from many lands. In England the influence of this school was apparent among the Puritans, especially in Calamy and Baxter, and became known as *Baxterianism*, or the *New Theology*, and so passed over to America as New School Theology, and in England and Ireland attached itself to vital reforming movements.¹ But the scholastic theologians of France, Holland, and Switzerland bitterly opposed the School of Saumur. These controversies greatly weakened French Protestantism at a critical period.

Among the French theologians trained at Saumur and Sedan were: (1) *Jacques Basnage* († 1723), fourth in a succession of theologians of that surname, the author of many historical, dogmatic and polemic works; and (2) *Jacques Abbadie* († 1727), whose apologetic and ethical treatises were widely known.

In addition to these six academies there were two schools of little or brief importance, the one at *Montpellier*, the other at *Orange*. (VII.) *Montpellier Academy* was founded in 1596. In 1609 it possessed chairs of theology, Hebrew and Greek; but by 1617 it had been absorbed in the school of Nimes. *Isaac Casaubon* († 1614), the great Humanist, whose learning almost rivalled that of *Scaliger*, came from teaching Greek at Geneva to help in building up the new school (1596-1599). His chief contribution to theology was his edition of the Greek Testament. *Daniel Chamier* († 1621) was active in the founding of this academy; and *Thomas Dempster* taught philosophy there in 1605.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 222 seq.; *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 373 seq.

(VIII.) The School of *Orange* (c. 1573) had also a brief existence, and like those of Montpellier and Orthez, took no part in theological controversy. Indeed, the Academy of Orange was not attached to the French Churches by any administrative link.¹

All of the French theological schools were short-lived. The last was suppressed by Louis XIV. in 1685.

5. *In England Francis Bacon became the father of Inductive Philosophy over against the Aristotelian, and greatly influenced all subsequent English thought, giving it an abiding bent towards empirical and experimental philosophy.*

This philosophy in its several forms undermined British Theology, and produced eventually the Deist movement.

The influence of Bacon († 1626) and the Inductive Philosophy was greatly promoted by the growth of Natural Philosophy, or the study of the Science of Nature by the experimental method, pursued on the Continent by *Copernicus* († 1543), *Kepler* († 1630), *Galileo* († 1642), and a host of followers ; and in England by *Napier* († 1617), *Harvey* († 1657), and others. These men built up the Natural Sciences, which continually pressed more and more into the universities and influenced students of theology, who were led thereby to make more of the realities of nature and of life. With that came increased attention to the principles of education and the building up of the science of education, especially through the labours of *Ratichius* (1571-1635) and *Comenius* (1592-1670). Amos Comenius, bishop of the Moravians, exerted extraordinary influence through his *Great Didactic* and other educational works. His principles were :

(1) *Omnia e principiis rerum immotis deriventur.*

¹ *Vide Bourchenin, Les Académies protestantes en France*, p. 396.

(2) *Nihil doceatur per autoritatem nudam, omnia per demonstrationem sensualem et rationalem.*

(3) *Nihil methodo analytica sola, synthetica potius omnia.*

All these efforts for reform aimed, as Paulsen shows,¹ at these things :

(1) The learning, not only of languages, but also of *realities* (mathematics, the natural sciences, history, geography).

(2) The learning of languages aright : not the language from grammar, but the grammar from language.

(3) The study of the modern languages.

(4) Study not by compulsion, but by rational methods : the use of the intelligence, rather than the rod.

In the course of the seventeenth century new philosophical theories came into the field to displace the Aristotelian and Platonic philosophies, in the works of *Hobbes*, *Descartes*, *Spinoza*, *Locke*, *Leibnitz*, and their associates. Deism arose in England, and sought to reduce Christianity to a religion of nature with the human reason as the sole authority. In the eighteenth century the movement was gradually overcome in Great Britain and driven to the Continent, where it ran riot in various forms of Rationalism. It should be said, however, that the Scholastic Theology did not recover the authority it had lost in the universities of England, but only in Scotland and among the English Nonconformists in part, so far as they were influenced by their training in the universities of Holland. The Church of England since the Reformation has always trained her clergy in Positive Theology, that is, in the Scriptures and the Creeds. No great system of theology has been produced since the Reformation in the Church of England.

(1) *Francis Bacon* (1561-1629) was trained at Cambridge, where he 'first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle,

¹ *Vide* Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrtent Unterrichts*, 2nd edition, i. pp. 469, 471 *seq.*

. . . being a philosophy only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man.'¹ He described the Schoolmen as 'having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator), . . . and knowing little history, either of nature or time (they) did, out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, open out unto us those laborious webs of learning, which are extant in their books.'² Bacon's great works include his *Novum organum*, *Advancement of Learning*, and famous *Essays*. He also wrote a Confession of Faith, and devotional works.

(2) *John Locke* (1632-1704), of Oxford, 'the originator of the empirical philosophy of the eighteenth century,'³ and author of the famous *Essay on the Human Understanding*, published also *Letters on Toleration*, the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, treatises on Miracles and on Education, and Paraphrases on the great Pauline Epistles.

Among the opponents of Deism may be mentioned: (3) *Joseph Butler* (1692-1752), also an Oxford scholar and bishop of Durham, famous for his sermons and for his *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736), which has been a universal text-book of Apologetics.⁴

6. At Helmstädt the irenical school of Calixtus struggled with the scholastic spirit, and reverted from the scholastic method to the historical and Biblical methods.⁵

The University of Helmstädt allowed its theological professors exceptional liberty in matters of doctrine. One of the Helmstädt theologians, (1) *George Calixtus* (1586-1656), became the chief irenic divine of the early seventeenth century.

The father of Calixtus, a pupil of Melanchthon, transmitted to him the theology of that Reformer. Some years of travel in other countries gave him a personal knowledge of both the

¹ Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ed. Aldis Wright, pref. p. vi. ; *vide* Sandys, ii. p. 338.

² *Vide* Sandys, ii. p. 339.

³ *Vide* article on 'Locke,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

⁴ *Vide* Briggs, *Whither?* p. 217.

⁵ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 147, 574; *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 9, 21.

Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches. He began to seek a basis for reunion in the Christian consensus of the first five centuries. Serving as professor of theology at Helmstädt for over forty years (1614-1656), he exerted a widespread and powerful influence as an advocate of Christian Unity. He also did valuable work as a Biblical and dogmatic theologian, and to him is ascribed the founding of the discipline of Ethics in theology.

The irenic teaching of Calixtus excited great opposition in the so-called *Syncretistic Controversies*.

The University of Helmstädt supported Calixtus. Among his defenders was (2) *Hermann Conring* († 1681), who 'excelled in almost every department of human knowledge'¹ and published several irenic works. (3) *Molanus* († 1722), who worked with *Leibnitz* and *Spinola* for a reunion of Protestants and Catholics, and with *Leibnitz* and *Jablonski* for a union of the Lutherans with the Reformed, was one of the pupils of Calixtus. Prominent among his opponents was (4) *Calovius* of Wittenberg († 1686). Several of the theologians of Königsberg were classed as *Syncretists*, among them (5) *Grabe* († 1711), the patristic scholar, who published an edition of the Septuagint. (6) *Johann Gerhard* († 1637), regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest theologian of the time, died before the controversy had fairly begun. His pupils at Jena, (7) *Glassius* († 1656), author of *Philologia sacra*, and (8) *Musæus* († 1681), a noted dogmatic theologian, maintained a mediating position. (9) *Martin Geier* of Leipzig († 1680) took no part in the conflict; but produced, according to Gieseler, 'the best commentaries on the books of the Old Testament which appeared during this period.'²

7. *The milder Calvinism and the critical spirit of the school of Saumur took refuge in Switzerland, and reappeared in the younger Turretin of Geneva, in Osterwald of Neuchâtel, and in Werenfels of Basel.*

In 1675 *Heidegger* of Zürich, with the co-operation of *Gernler* of Basel and *François Turretin* of Geneva, drew up the *Formula Consensus Helvetica* as a definition of Scholastic Calvinism over against the milder Calvinism of the school of Saumur. Under the influence of these

¹ Gieseler, v. p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 283.

great divines the Formula was adopted by several of the Cantons of Switzerland ; and its doctrines were maintained by Scholastic Calvinists in other countries, especially in Holland and Scotland ; but it had little influence in Germany or England, and was overthrown in Switzerland in the next generation, under the leadership of the younger Turretin.¹ The reaction may be said to have begun even earlier, with *Peter Werenfels* († 1703), Gernler's successor at Basel,² whose son *Samuel* († 1740) co-operated with Turretin and Osterwald in the Swiss revolt against Scholasticism.

(1) *Heidegger* of Zürich († 1698) made important contributions to Dogmatics, Ethics, Church History, Biblical Theology, Symbolics, and Christian Institutions. (2) *François Turretin* (Turretini, † 1687) published an *Institutio theologice elencticæ*, which was used as a text-book by Scottish and American Presbyterians till towards the close of last century, to the neglect of the Westminster divines. His son, (3) *Jean Alphonse Turretin* († 1737), was the chief of those who secured the abolition of the Helvetic Consensus in 1725. He corresponded with Leibnitz, Frederick I. of Prussia, and Archbishop Wake of Canterbury, on behalf of Church Unity, and published dogmatic, irenic and exegetical works. (4) *Benedict Pictet* († 1724) was a cousin of the younger Turretin, and like him a liberal and irenic theologian. He produced important works on Christian Theology and Ethics.

Among the other Swiss theologians of the period were : (5) the Semitic scholar, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger* of Zürich († 1667), and (6) his son, *Johann Jacob* († 1735), both of whom did notable work in Church History ; (7) *John Buxtorf*, father († 1629) and (8) son († 1664), who were influential in establishing a Protestant traditional orthodoxy in the Swiss schools, and maintained the divine origin and authority of the Massoretic vowel points and accents, yet rendered valuable service by their Hebrew Concordance and other philological, Biblical and historical works ; and (9) *Suicer* († 1684), author of the celebrated *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus*, and other lexicographical works.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 213 seq. ; *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 225.

² *Vide* Dorner, *Geschichte der protestantischen Theologie*, p. 439, n. 1.

8. The Cambridge Platonists revived the ethical type of Theology in England, and strove to give the human reason its proper place and function in matters of religion.

The Cambridge Platonists were Puritan in origin and training. Predominantly rational and ethical, they were characterised also by the mystic spirit, especially in the case of *Henry More* († 1687). Like the school of Saumur in France and the school of Calixtus in Germany, this group of Cambridge scholars helped to prepare the way for a broad, comprehensive Church.¹ The leaders among them, with the exception of More, all belonged to the famous Puritan college *Emmanuel*. The most notable of these theologians were Whichcote and Cudworth.

(1) *Benjamin Whichcote* (1609-1683) exerted strong influence as a teacher, especially through the lectures which he gave at Trinity College on Sunday afternoons for twenty years. *Cudworth*, *More* and *John Smith* († 1652) were among his disciples. His writings were all issued posthumously, and include *Moral and Religious Aphorisms*, sermons, and a remarkable correspondence with *Anthony Tuckney*.² Whichcote declared: 'God hath set up two lights to enlighten us in our way: the light of reason, which is the light of His creation; and the light of Scripture, which is after-revelation from Him. Let us make use of these two lights; and suffer neither to be put out.'³

(2) *Ralph Cudworth* (1617-1688), the most celebrated philosopher of this school, was Regius Professor of Hebrew. He wrote on *The True Intellectual System of the Universe*, on *Eternal and Immutable Morality*, and on *Free Will*.

9. Puritanism eventually gave birth to Pietism in Reformed and Lutheran Germany, producing the Biblical school of Bengel and the Moravians.

Pietism was the salvation of Germany and Methodism of Great Britain. Pietism in Germany owed its origin to English Puritanism, which gave the impulse to

¹ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 574 seq.

² *Vide* p. 152.

³ *Vide* article on 'Whichcote,' in *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*.

Holland first, and then to the Reformed Churches of the Rhine, until at length it reached Strasburg, and moved first Spener, then Koelmann, and finally Zinzendorf. The Pietism of Germany and Holland, especially that of the type of Zinzendorf, in turn greatly influenced British Methodism.¹

(1) *Philip Jacob Spener* (1635-1705), the father of German Pietism, studied at Strasburg, Basel, Geneva and Tübingen, and was influenced by the Puritan piety, especially of Baxter, and by the French of *Jean de Labadie* († 1674), founder of a Quietistic sect in Holland. Spener began to preach at Strasburg in 1663, and three years later was called to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he organised the *Collegia pietatis* (1670) to promote the study of the Bible and the practice of devotion. Similar circles were formed in other cities, and the interest in Biblical study greatly increased. Spener worked subsequently in Dresden, and finally, from 1691, in Berlin, exerting great influence, especially through his writings. The most important of these were the *Pia desideria* (1675), *Geistliches Priesterthum*, *Theologische Bedenken*, and the treatise *De impedimentis studii theologici*. Spener emphasised the practical in theology. He and his followers were of the mystic type; and they adopted many of the chief features of Puritanism. The German Pietists laid stress upon personal relations to God and experimental piety, in order to the interpretation of Scripture. This was accompanied among the best of them with true scholarship. In their study of theology they discarded the scholastic method in favour of the historical and Biblical methods. They did not form a separate denomination, but remain as a party in the Churches of Germany until the present day.² However, they established a theological school at Halle with *Francke* at its head.

(2) *August Hermann Francke* (1663-1727) was one of the founders of the *Collegium philobiblicum* (1686), and of the *Collegia biblica* (1689), at Leipzig. Through Spener's influence he was called to the new university at Halle (1692) as professor of Greek and the Oriental languages, and as pastor to a suburban church. With the co-operation of his colleagues, *Breithaupt* († 1732) and *Anton* († 1730), he made Halle a great centre of

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 574; *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 238 seq.; *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 244 seq.

² *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 466 seq.; *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 9, 244.

Pietism. He founded the famous Orphan Asylum, the *Pädagogium*, and other educational institutions, and made them training schools in Pedagogy and Pastoral Theology for the students of Halle. At his death more than 2200 children were under instruction, and 250 students were receiving practical training as teachers and pastors in these institutions. The most important of Francke's writings treat of Biblical Interpretation and Hermeneutics. The best exegete among the Pietists was (3) *Johann Albert Bengel* († 1752), 'the founder of New Testament criticism in the Lutheran Church,'¹ whose interpretation is a model of piety and accuracy. To his famous *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* he added other valuable Biblical works, and carried on the work of Mill in a critical text of the New Testament.

Pietism was carried into the Moravian Church by (4) *Nicolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf* (1700-1760), a disciple of Francke, trained at his *Pädagogium* in Halle. Zinzendorf received the exiles from Moravia on his estate at Herrnhut (1722), and reorganised them as the *Unitas Fratrum* with the *Ratio disciplinæ* of Bishop Comenius.² His writings comprise sermons, hymns, and various doctrinal and devotional works.

10. The vital religion and ethical principles of Puritanism revived in Great Britain and her colonies in the form of Methodism, under the leadership of Wesley and Whitefield.

Deism was overcome in Great Britain and her colonies by the vital religion and Christian experience of Methodism, a genuine development of British Christianity, yet strongly influenced by the Pietism of the Continent. Methodism was, indeed, an historical recompense for the influence of Puritanism upon Continental Christianity. The fathers of Methodism were *Wesley* and *Whitefield*, the one an Arminian, the other a Calvinist. It was their earnest desire and purpose to organise holy circles within the Church, after the example of German Pietism ; but intolerance compelled their followers for the most part to organise separate churches in England, Scotland, Ireland and America. The Church of England secession was made by *Wesley* and *Whitefield*, and

¹ Gieseler, v. p. 296.

² Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, p. 244.

resolved itself into the Arminian branch of Wesley and the Calvinistic branch of Whitefield. The secession from the Church of Scotland was led by the *Erskines*, who, after suspension by that Church, organised an Associate Presbytery (1733). The American secession was in the New Side Presbyterians. The Congregationalists and the Baptists divided into parties ; but did not separate, because of their loose organisation and the difficulty of ecclesiastical division. There was, however, a considerable amount of disfellowship and conflict. A large number of Methodists remained in the older organisations, preferring limitation to separation. Still greater numbers were influenced more or less by the new movement, and the whole Christian body was enlivened and refreshed. Scholasticism and Deism were stayed, and gradually driven back all over the Anglo-Saxon world. Methodism, like Pietism, emphasised the Christian religious experience, laying more stress on vital and spiritual Christianity, and less on doctrinal and institutional Christianity ; although they cannot be said to have departed from the fundamental doctrines or historic institutions of Christianity.¹ Yet while Pietism succeeded in establishing its headquarters at the University of Halle, Methodism, forced out of the national Church, had to train its ministers in theological colleges and seminaries.

(1) *John Wesley* (1703-1791) was trained at Oxford University, and was one of the founders of the famous *Holy Club* (1729), whose members won the name of *Methodists* by 'the exact regularity of their lives and studies.' Wesley was strongly influenced by Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, Luther, and his cotemporary, the mystic, *William Law* († 1761), author of the *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life, A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection*, and other remarkable works. But it was chiefly through the Moravians that Wesley was guided to the adoption of those

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, p. 245.

principles and methods which have become the characteristic features of Methodism. In 1739, following the example of Whitefield, Wesley began the practice of preaching in the open air, which he continued for upwards of fifty years. In the same year the first society of Methodists was formed. The writings of Wesley include a *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, *Notes on the New Testament*, a *Short History of Methodism*, sermons, journals, and doctrinal and practical tracts.

(2) *Charles Wesley* (1708-1788), brother and collaborator of John, has been called 'the poet of Methodism,' and is now known chiefly through his hymns.

(3) *George Whitefield* (1714-1770) was one of the members of the Holy Club at Oxford. He became known in Great Britain and her colonies in America as an evangelist and field preacher of wonderful power and success. He laid the foundations of a famous school at Kingswood, near Bristol; and wrote *The Christian History; or, A General Account of the Progress of the Gospel in England, Wales, Scotland, and America*, as well as sermons and autobiographical works.

(4) *Fletcher of Madeley* (De la Fléchère, † 1785), the chief theologian of the Wesleyans, was born on Lake Geneva, but entered the ministry of the Church of England, and became associated with John Wesley. He served as pastor at Madeley for nearly a quarter of a century, and was noted for his power in preaching and his moderation in controversy. He wrote the celebrated *Checks to Antinomianism* and a *Portrait of St. Paul, or the True Model for Christians and Pastors*.

Methodism began in America in the Dutch Reformed Church, under the ministry of (5) *Jacob Frelinghuysen*, a native of East Friesland and disciple of Koelmann, the Dutch Pietist. He became pastor of a church in Raritan, New Jersey (c. 1720), and laboured in that region for twenty-seven years. Through Frelinghuysen the Puritan spirit flowed with new vigour. Whitefield recognised in him 'a worthy old soldier of Jesus Christ,' 'the Beginner of the great Work, which I trust the Lord is carrying on in these parts.'¹ The representative Methodists among the Presbyterians were the *Tennents*, father and son. (6) *Gilbert Tennent* began his work at New Brunswick in 1726. His father, (7) *William* († 1746), opened a *Log College* at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania (after 1727), for the training of young men for the ministry, which proved of immense service to the cause of Christ, and was likened by Whitefield to 'the Schools of the old

¹ *Vide Briggs, American Presbyterianism*, pp. 239 seq.

Prophets.¹ About the Tennents gathered a strong body of earnest, devout, and zealous ministers and laymen.

The great Congregational Methodist was *Jonathan Edwards*,² the father of modern British and American Theology—not so much in those metaphysical matters to which his name is so frequently attached, as in those characteristic doctrines of the Methodist movement, which he so successfully formulated and explained.³

11. The American colonists founded colleges modelled after those of the British Universities, as residential colleges, where instruction in Theology was mingled with general education. The greatest theologians of America studied and taught in these institutions.

The American colonists brought with them their ministers. At first there were more than were needed. But subsequently ministers could not be secured from the mother country in sufficient numbers, and educational institutions began to be organised.

The first college was that of *Harvard*, founded at Cambridge, Massachusetts (1636); the second, that of *William and Mary*, opened at Williamsburg, Virginia (1693); the third, *Yale College*, located at first in Saybrook (1701), but afterwards removed to New Haven, Connecticut (1718). The *Log College* of William Tennent⁴ was the basis for the *College of New Jersey*, opened at Elizabethtown (1646), removed to Newark (1647), and finally established at *Princeton* (1757). *King's College*, founded in New York City by royal charter in 1754, was reorganised as *Columbia* after the Revolution (1787). *Rhode Island College* (opened in 1764) took the name of *Brown* in 1804. In 1749 the foundations of the *University of Pennsylvania* were laid at Philadelphia. *Dartmouth* was opened at Hanover, New Hampshire (1770), and *Williams* at Williamstown, Massachusetts (1793). *Cokesbury College* was organised by the Methodists at Abingdon, Maryland, in 1787, and removed to Baltimore in 1795, but was finally abandoned (1796) because of repeated losses by fire.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, pp. 186 seq., 240, 242, 304 seq.

² *Vide* p. 173.

³ *Vide* Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 261.

⁴ *Vide* p. 170.

The chief purpose of these colleges was to train a Christian ministry. Thus Palfrey says, with reference to Harvard :

‘The course of study [at Harvard], adopted from the contemporaneous practice of the English Universities, consisted of Latin and Greek (in which some proficiency was required for admission); of logic, arithmetic, geometry, and physics; and of Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and divinity,—the forming of a learned ministry being a main object of the institution.’¹

Woolsey writes with reference to Yale :

‘In general it may be said that the system pursued by the earlier teachers rested upon logic and theology, and presupposed that the students would choose the clerical profession, rather than the offices of civic life. To this cause is to be ascribed the part which the study of Hebrew played for a considerable period.’²

Fisher also says of Yale :

‘Its chief design was to furnish the churches with competent ministers of the Gospel. For a long time theological studies, including the Hebrew language, held a prominent place in the undergraduate course. The President was a teacher of Divinity, and the first professorship created was in that department.’³

The American colleges produced two great theologians : *Jonathan Dickinson* and *Jonathan Edwards*, who remain as the best exponents of the theology of the eighteenth century.⁴

(1) *Dickinson* (1688-1747), the great representative American Presbyterian of the Colonial period, was trained at Yale, took charge of several congregations in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and the neighbourhood, and became the first president of the College of New Jersey. The charter for that college was obtained through his efforts, and it was opened at his house. No better man could have been found to lay the foundation of higher

¹ Palfrey, *History of New England*, 1860, ii. p. 48.

² Woolsey, *An Historical Discourse pronounced before the Graduates of Yale College*, 1850, p. 57.

³ *Vide Fisher, A Discourse, Commemorative of the History of the Church of Christ in Yale College*, 1858, pp. 36 seq.

⁴ *Vide Briggs, American Presbyterianism*, pp. 176 seq., 216, 260 seq., 306.

education for the Presbyterians in America. He was head and shoulders above his brethren in the ministry in intellectual and moral endowments, the recognised leader in all the crises of the Church. It is due chiefly to him that the Presbyterian Church in America was not split up into fragments, perpetuating the differences of Presbyterians in the mother countries of Great Britain, and the several parties in those countries.

(2) *Jonathan Edwards* (1703-1758) is the greatest divine America has yet produced. He found no equal in Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He was at once recognised as the teacher of the Calvinistic Methodists of Great Britain, and has become the master spirit in theology to the Presbyterian and Congregational world of the nineteenth century, in Scotland as well as in England and America. Through him the theology of the school of Saumur first came into prominence in America. Edwards studied at Yale, served as pastor to Congregational churches at Northampton and Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and was made president of the College of New Jersey shortly before his death. Under his ministry occurred the *Great Awakening*, a series of revivals (1734-1735, 1740-1741) which spread through a great part of New England. The most notable writings of Edwards were his doctrinal sermons, his dissertations on the Nature of True Virtue, the Freedom of the Will, the Religious Affections, and Original Sin, and a History of Redemption. His pupils included such theologians as *Joseph Bellamy* († 1790), *Samuel Hopkins* († 1803), and his own son, the younger *Jonathan* († 1801).

In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a great theological battle about education for the ministry in the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, which had much to do with the division between the Old Side and the New in the Presbyterian Church. A learned ministry and a devout ministry were put in antithesis in the struggle. Early in the following century it became evident that there must be provision for a more thorough training in theology.

12. *In the eighteenth century the Nonconformists of England began to establish public colleges for the training of their ministry.*

After the Restoration and the Act of Uniformity (1662), the Nonconformists of England, excluded from the English universities, could only train their ministers in private academies, or send them to the universities of other countries. There were, however, a number of private academies conducted by eminent men in different places all through the seventeenth century, where the principles of Nonconformity were taught, and students received excellent practical training and good discipline. Some of the best of the students went for higher training to the universities of the Continent.

The Nonconformist academies trained such theologians as : (1) *Matthew Henry* († 1714), a pupil of Thomas Doolittle at Islington, and author of *Expositions of the Old and New Testaments*, in which the Biblical exegesis of Puritanism attained on the practical side its highest mark ;¹ (2) *Isaac Watts* († 1748), student at the academy in Stoke Newington, called by Montgomery 'the inventor of English hymns' ;² (3) *John Taylor* of Norwich († 1761), pupil of Thomas Dixon at Whitehaven, disciple of *Samuel Clarke*³ and the philosopher *Locke* († 1704), and author of a Paraphrase on Romans, a Hebrew Concordance, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Original Sin*, and other important doctrinal works.

After the Revolution of 1688 the Nonconformists began to plan for the training of their ministry in public colleges. In the course of the eighteenth century a number of such colleges were founded, including :⁴

(1) *Homerton College*, established in London (c. 1744) by the combination of two earlier schools, the *Fund Academy* (c. 1695) and the *Academy of the King's Head Society* (c. 1730). The first teachers of theology in the *Fund Academy* included : *Thomas Goodwin* (1696), son of the famous Thomas († 1680), leader of the Independents in the Westminster Assembly ; *Isaac Chauncey* (1701-1712), son of Charles († 1672), the second president of

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 467.

² *Vide* Christlieb, 'Watts,' in *Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia*, 1st ed.

³ *Vide* p. 176.

⁴ *Vide* *Calendar of the Congregational Colleges of England and Wales*, 1879, pp. 11 seq.

Harvard College ; and *Thomas Ridgley* (1712-1734), author of a *Body of Divinity*.

(2) *Coward College*, founded by the liberality of a London merchant in 1738, and under the instruction of *Philip Doddridge* until his death († 1751). *Doddridge*, a pupil of *Samuel Clarke* and *John Jennings*, published a *Family Expositor*, or practical commentary on the Bible, which was of great service to the churches.

(3) *Highbury College*, established in 1778 by an evangelical society to promote the evangelical movement. These three colleges were united in 1850 as (4) *New College*, which became the chief Congregational seminary of England.

(5) *Western College* was founded at Plymouth by the Congregational Fund Board (1752). (6) *Rotherham College* was established in Yorkshire (1756); (7) the *Countess of Huntingdon's College* at Cheshunt (1768); and (8) *Airedale College* at Bradford (1800).

A number of other Congregational colleges were founded in the nineteenth century, but all were of the same type. In the older academies the course was usually a mixed course of theology and philosophy, extending over four years ; in the colleges the course was one of five years, two in philosophy and three in theology.

The Presbyterian (Unitarian) Board founded *Carmarthen College* in 1697 ; the Congregational Fund Board *Brecon College* in 1757, after the separation from the Presbyterians. The Baptists established similar institutions ; so also the Wesleyans and other bodies.

All of these schools were of the same type, offering a preparatory philosophical course and a theological course—essentially the same type as the Tridentine Seminaries. These English Seminaries exerted upon the Nonconformists an influence similar to that of the Tridentine Seminaries upon the Roman Catholics.

There was a constant irritation between the men trained practically in the seminaries and the men trained theoretically in the universities. The ministers trained in the universities of Holland were either

Scholastics, or advocates of the Covenant Theology. Those trained in the Scottish universities were either Scholastics, or men influenced by the Free Thought of the eighteenth century.

Early in that century the Nonconformists of Britain began to be agitated by the spirit of inquiry that was already active in the Church of England in *William Whiston* († 1752), *Samuel Clarke* († 1729), and others. *Thomas Emlyn* († 1743), a Presbyterian minister of Dublin, was the first to advocate Semi-Arianism. He was removed from his associate ministry in 1702. *James Pierce* of Exeter adopted similar opinions from Clarke and Whiston (c. 1717). The ministers of Exeter appealed to London for advice. The London ministers debated the matter for a long time. In 1719 they divided on the subject of subscription. The majority were opposed to subscription. The minority separated and subscribed to the first of the *Articles of Religion* of the Church of England, and to the fifth and sixth Questions of the *Westminster Shorter Catechism*. The Presbyterians were chiefly non-subscribers;¹ the Congregationalists chiefly subscribers.² This division resulted in the gradual departure of the English Presbyterians from the Westminster Faith until the whole body became Unitarian. The Congregationalists, however, remained orthodox, and to a great extent reactionary.

The same conflict arose in Scotland over the case of *John Simson* († 1740), professor of divinity in the University of Glasgow, who sought to reconcile Christianity with modern thought within the sphere of historical Christianity, but was regarded as compromised in an anti-trinitarian direction, and so warned by the General Assembly in 1717.³ His views continued to excite the Church of Scotland until his final suspension in 1729.

Steadily but surely the universities of Scotland, as well as those of England, came into the hands of representatives of Free Thought, who were named *Moderates*; and these maintained their supremacy into the nineteenth century. The Scholastics, who at first had succeeded in driving out the men of piety, the *narrow men*, as they were called, under the leadership

¹ Fifty non-subscribers to twenty-six subscribers and nine neutrals.

² Twenty-three subscribers to seven non-subscribers and five neutrals.

³ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, p. 243.

of the Erskines, were at last themselves overcome by Moderatism.

13. *The revival of the study of Theology took place gradually in Germany during the eighteenth century by the introduction of the new learning, especially as based on the inductive method and the inductive sciences, and under the influence of the Universities of Halle and Göttingen.*

The older universities resisted the movement so long as they could. Some of them became extinct ; others were removed and united to newer foundations ; others gradually adopted the new methods. The first modern university was that of *Halle*, which was founded in 1694, under the same influences as those which produced the *Academy of Sciences* in Berlin (1700), by the instrumentality of Leibnitz and his associates. The university of *Halle* gained its character under the influence of the two scholars who were its chief teachers at the beginning : *Thomasius* († 1728), a jurist, rationalistic in tendency ; and *Francke*,¹ a theologian and a Pietist. Both were opposed to the scholastic methods and slavish imitation of the classic writers which generally prevailed, and they were united against these tendencies. But they also represented other opposing tendencies that soon came into conflict. This conflict came to a head in connection with the philosopher, *Christian Wolff* († 1754), whose more pronounced Rationalism brought him into trouble. He was expelled from the University of *Halle* (1723), but was called to *Marburg*, and his influence constantly increased. In 1740 he was recalled to *Halle* in triumph, and the victory finally won for freedom of scholarship. Upon that principle the University of *Göttingen* was founded in 1734. These two institutions now became the leading universities of Germany, and so remained throughout the eighteenth century.

¹ *Vide* p. 167.

At *Halle* the theological professors reverted from the Scholastic Theology to the Positive Theology. They devoted themselves to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages, to the study of the Lutheran symbolical books, and to the practice of piety.

Among the theologians of *Halle* were: (1) *Johann Heinrich Michaelis* († 1738), the Hebrew scholar; (2) his nephew, collaborator and successor at *Halle*, *Christian Benedict Michaelis* († 1764); (3) *Baumgarten*, who taught at *Halle* from 1730 until his death in 1757, and exerted great influence through his works on Church History and Doctrine; his disciple (4) *Senler* († 1791), a Biblical scholar, and the channel through which the historical method of interpretation made its way into Lutheran Germany.¹ Through these theologians *Halle* became distinguished for Biblical and symbolical scholarship.

The first great theological teacher of *Göttingen* was (1) *Mosheim* († 1755), formerly of *Helmstädt*, a scholar of encyclopædic learning and a preacher of great eloquence, who contributed important works to almost all the departments of theology, and made Church History a new discipline. He was followed by (2) *Johann David Michaelis* († 1791), son of *Christian Benedict*, who produced Biblical works of great value; (3) *Eichhorn* († 1827), the father of the Higher Criticism, who carried its methods into the entire Old Testament with the hand of a master, and laid the foundation of views that have been maintained ever since.² These men made *Göttingen* a great seat of Biblical and historical scholarship.

Leipzig also became an important centre of Biblical study through the labours of *Ernesti* († 1781), the chief of the new era of Biblical interpretation in Germany. Essentially a philologist rather than a theologian, he began at the foundation of interpretation, grammatical exegesis, and placed it in such a position before the world that it has ever since maintained its fundamental importance.³

In Austria and Southern Germany also the new methods gradually conquered the old in the Catholic universities, greatly to the mortification of the Jesuits, who were driven by degrees from one institution after

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 470.

² *Vide* Briggs, *ibid.*, pp. 279 seq. ³ *Vide* Briggs, *ibid.*, p. 469.

another, and from one country after another, until the order was suppressed by the pope (1773), and its influence was reduced to a minimum. So at the close of the eighteenth century Roman Catholic and Protestant scholars were more at one than they had been since the Reformation ;¹ and, it may be added, than they have been since that time. But the enlightened rulers of Austria and Bavaria, however much they improved the universities, did great mischief by the destruction of the Catholic seminaries, or the merging of the smaller in larger seminaries, thereby destroying their character and making them poor copies of the universities. In Protestant Germany, however, and so it may be said in Holland and Switzerland, the development was more normal. The chief result of the reformation of the universities was the deliverance of theological instruction from bondage to the Church and to the State, and the establishment of the principle of *freedom of scholarship*.

14. *The revival of the study of Theology extended all along the line of theological scholarship, and resulted in new theological learning, the opening up of numerous new fields of theological study, and a zealous and enthusiastic pursuit of these, in which all countries began to take part.*

The gain may be said to have been in these four particulars :

- (1) Freedom of instruction, over against limitation by authority.
- (2) The new philosophy of Wolff and Kant, based on Cosmology and Physics, over against Aristotle.
- (3) The new Humanism, in place of the imitative study of the Classics : a critical historical study.
- (4) The use of the modern languages in place of Latin.²

¹ *Vide* Paulsen, *Gesch. des gelehrtent Unterrichts*, ii. p. 123.

² Paulsen, ii. p. 145.

Several new theological disciplines were opened up, especially at Halle.

I. The discipline of *Theological Encyclopædia* was first established by *Mursinna*¹ of Halle (1764).

II. The foundations for the discipline of *Symbolics* were laid by *Baumgarten*² of Halle (1750); and *G. J. Planck*³ united *Symbolics* with *Polemics* (1796) in a broader scheme.⁴

III. In *Biblical Study* the gain may be given with more detail :

A. *The Text.* In England *John Mill* issued a critical edition of the New Testament (1707), and was assailed by unthinking men, who preferred pious ignorance to a correct text of the New Testament; but he was sturdily defended by the great Cambridge scholar, *Richard Bentley* († 1742), the father of the Higher Criticism in England. Bishop *Lowth* († 1787) called the attention of scholars to the necessity of emending the Massoretic text of the Old Testament, and discerned and set forth the principles of Hebrew poetry (1753-1778). *Kennicott* († 1783) collated a large number of Hebrew manuscripts for his monumental work on the state of the printed Hebrew text of the Old Testament, with various readings (1753-1780). On the Continent the work of Mill was continued by *Bengel* (1725-1734), *Wetstein* (1731-1752), and *Griesbach* (1785-1793). Lowth's work was carried on in Germany especially by *Michaelis* of Göttingen (1770) and by *Koppe* (1779-1780).⁵

B. *The Higher Criticism.* *Astruc*, a French physician, discovered the several documents of the Pentateuch in 1753. His work was taken to Germany by *Jerusalem* (1762). *Eichhorn* of Göttingen came independently to the same conclusion in 1779. The poet *Herder* († 1803) first caught the Oriental spirit in his *Geist der hebräischen Poesie* (1782-1783). All these results were combined by *Eichhorn* (1780) in the discipline of *Higher Criticism*.⁶

¹ *Vide Mursinna, Primæ lineæ encyclopædiorum theologicorum.*

² *Vide Baumgarten, Kurze Begrif der theologischen Streitigkeiten.*

³ *Vide Planck, Abriss einer historischen und vergleichenden Darstellung der dogmatischen Systeme unserer verschiedenen christlichen Hauptpartheyen.*

⁴ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics, pp. 24 seq.*

⁵ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture, pp. 225 seq.*

⁶ *Vide Briggs, ibid., pp. 278 seq.*

C. Biblical Interpretation. Ernesti of Leipzig applied to the Bible the principles employed in the interpretation of the ancient classics (1761). Semler of Halle urged the importance of historical interpretation (1760-1769). These scholars laid the foundations of the grammatico-historical school of Biblical study.¹

D. Biblical History was studied in England by *Prideaux* (1716-1718), *Shuckford* (1727-1728), *Stackhouse* (1732), and *Paley* (1790); in France by *Basnage* (1704-1706) and *Calmet* (1722); in Holland by *Reland* (1704-1708) and *Spanheim* (*Opera*, 1701-1703); in Switzerland by *Hess* (1768-1788); in Germany by *Waehner* (1701-1703), *Buddeus* (1715-1718), and especially by *Michaelis* (1769-1775).²

E. Biblical Theology. The foundations of this discipline were first laid by *Gabler* of Jena in 1787. There was, however, preparatory work done by *Zachariä* of Halle, and *Göttingen* (1771-1775), on the Pietistic side. *Ammon* also published works on Biblical Theology from the Rationalistic side (1792-1801).³

IV. Church History before *Mosheim* had been the handmaid of Polemic Theology. The great polemic histories were the Protestant *Magdeburger Centurien*,⁴ and the reply of the Roman Catholic *Baronius* in his *Annales ecclesiastici*,⁵ continued by *Raynaldus*, *Theiner*, and others. The British historical writers, like *Ussher* and *Bingham*,⁶ were chiefly interested in antiquities and institutions. *Calixtus* had vainly tried to infuse a more irenic spirit and objective method. *Mosheim* was the first to give Church History its position as an independent, strictly objective, historical discipline in his *Institutiones historiæ ecclesiasticæ* (1755). And so there began a detailed and thorough research into various fields of historical investigation, which gradually resulted in the outlining of many sub-departments of Church History. *Schröck*, a pupil of *Mosheim*, wrote a very elaborate Church History in forty-five volumes (1768-1812), in

¹ *Vide* *Briggs*, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 469 seq.

² *Vide* *Briggs*, *ibid.*, pp. 490 seq.

³ *Vide* *Briggs*, *ibid.*, pp. 575 seq.

⁴ 13 vols., 1559-1574.

⁵ 12 vols., 1588-1607.

⁶ *Vide* pp. 153-155.

which he adopted the division of Church History into periods, instead of the older division into centuries. It is valuable for its information as to sources ; but, as Schaff remarks, ' Nobody ever read it through except the author and proof reader.'¹ The principles of Mosheim were followed by *C. W. F. Walch*, also of Göttingen († 1784), who established the discipline of the *History of Doctrine* and other branches of Church History, such as the *History of the Popes, of the Sects*, and so on. All came into play, and each department was thoroughly searched by the investigations. The *History of Christian Literature* received especial attention from such scholars as *Fabricius* († 1736), *J. C. Wolf* († 1739), *Pfaff* († 1760), and *J. G. Walch* († 1775).

V. *Dogmatics* was delivered from bondage to the scholastic method of the Aristotelian philosophy. The ancient conflict between Positive Theology and Philosophical Theology was renewed. In the Roman Catholic seminaries and universities Positive Theology remained a comprehensive system, including both the Bible and the Fathers ; but in Protestant universities Biblical Theology set forth the Theology of the Bible, and Symbolical Theology that of the Symbols of the Church. Over against these in the Catholic seminaries was the Scholastic Theology in a more chaste form. In Protestant universities the system of theology was constructed on the basis of the various systems of philosophy as these arose from time to time : at first the Pietistic over against the Rational of the school of Wolff ; then the Kantian, which appeared at the close of the period.

VI. *Practical Theology*. More attention was given to the scholarly or scientific side of this department of theology ; and it was elaborated in Theological Encyclopædia into a number of logically defined, separate departments, which were studied by scholars in purely

¹ Schaff, *Theological Propædeutics*, p. 300.

scholarly interests; as, for instance, *Catechetics*, *Liturgics*, *Church Law*, and the *History of Preaching*. The older system of disputation and declamation gradually disappeared from the universities. In place of these there was established at Göttingen for the first time a *Predigerseminar*, for practical exercise in preaching and teaching.¹

¹ The theological *Seminar* of the university for the purpose of training in theological investigation belongs to a later time, and began in the schools of philology and philosophy (*vide* p. 187).

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY OF THEOLOGY IN THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY

THE eighteenth century closed with the storms of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon, which continued into the second decade of the nineteenth century. With these were also associated the American Revolution and the establishment of the United States of America. The wars of Napoleon wrought havoc all over Europe, and resulted in the destruction of a large number of universities and the establishment of new ones. The old universities were regarded as scholastic, pedantic, and reactionary by the statesmen of Europe.

Five Protestant universities either died or were closed up: those of *Erfurt*, *Helmstädt*, *Rinteln*, *Duisburg*, and *Altdorf*. Two others, those of *Wittenberg* and *Frankfort-on-the-Oder*, were combined with other universities; *Wittenberg* with *Halle* (1815), and *Frankfort* with *Breslau* (1811).

Ten Catholic institutions perished; and one, that of *Ingolstadt*, was eventually absorbed by the new university at *Munich*. Those that perished were: *Cologne*, *Mayence*, *Trèves*, *Paderborn*, *Fulda*, *Bamberg*, *Dillingen*, *Linz*, *Salzburg*, and *Olmütz*; among them some of the most famous schools of olden times.

Several new universities were established: those of

Berlin (1810), *Breslau* (1811), and *Bonn* (1818), by Prussia; and that of *Munich* (1826), by Bavaria.

1. *The new universities took the lead in the educational movements of the nineteenth century. But they received their impulse, not only from the new spirit of the revolutionary epoch, but also from the scholars of the older universities, especially those of Halle, Göttingen, and Königsberg.*

At *Halle* the new theological learning was chiefly practical Biblical scholarship; at *Göttingen* it bore fruit in the fields of Church History and Biblical Criticism. *Königsberg* produced the first in a series of great philosophers—*Kant*, followed by *Fichte* (†1814), *Hegel* (†1831), *Schelling* (†1854), and their associates and successors—who undermined and well-nigh destroyed the ancient philosophical forms in which Christian doctrine had been framed.¹

Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) was trained at *Königsberg*, and taught philosophy and other subjects there for over forty years (1755-1796). Among his great works may be mentioned his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781, 1787), *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (1788), *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1793), and *Die Metaphysik der Sitten* (1797). *Kant* insisted upon a religion in accordance with the practical reason—a religion of morality, and upon an ethical interpretation of Scripture and history. His views produced a profound impression at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century; and several prominent theologians adopted his principles, among them: *Tieftrunk*² of *Halle* (1791-1795); *Ammon*³ of *Göttingen* and *Erlangen* (1797); *Stäudlin*,⁴ also of *Göttingen* (1800); and *J. W. Schmid*⁵ of *Jena* (1797). But, as *Gieseler* states, ‘the philosophy of *Kant* did not permanently maintain this influence in theology.’⁶ It was not his philo-

¹ *Vide Briggs, Theological Symbolics*, p. 245.

² *Vide Tieftrunk, Censur des christlichen protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*.

³ *Vide Ammon, Entwurf einer wissenschaftlich-practischen Theologie*.

⁴ *Vide Stäudlin, Dogmatik und Dogmengeschichte*.

⁵ *Vide J. W. Schmid, Ueber christliche Religion*.

⁶ *Gieseler*, v. p. 323.

sophic principles that prevailed; but his critical method of investigation, which became characteristic of the age.

2. *The University of Berlin became the great theological centre of Germany; and a series of great teachers of Theology and Philosophy, as well as of all other branches of learning, has continued there all through the century and until the present time.*

Schleiermacher was raised up to be the father of the modern German evangelical theology. He began to build the structure of modern theology in the true mystic spirit on the religious feeling, apprehending Jesus Christ as Saviour. A series of intellectual giants carried on his work, such as *Neander, Tholuck, Rothe, Müller, and I. A. Dorner*. These led German Theology back to the position of the Protestant reformers.¹

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), the great reformer of theology at the beginning of the nineteenth century, studied at Halle, and in 1793 began to teach and to preach at Berlin. After more than a decade he went to teach in the University of Halle, and in 1806 was made full professor there. It was not long, however, before he returned to Berlin, where he became one of the first professors in the new university (1810), and dean of the theological faculty. Schleiermacher combined the critical method with evangelical piety. He reorganised theological study, the discipline of *Encyclopædia*, the system of theology, and enriched all branches of theological learning. His many influential writings include: *Reden über die Religion, Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums, and Christlicher Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen Kirche.*

3. *Berlin was sustained by the newer universities of Bonn and Breslau, and also by those of the previous century, Halle and Göttingen; and gradually all of the universities adopted the newer methods of theological study.*

These methods were: (1) *Theological investigation: research over the whole field of theology.* This was promoted, not only by the stimulation, through *lectures*,

¹ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture, p. 158.*

of professors who themselves were engaged in research, but also by the establishment of *Seminars* for the special training of the more advanced students.

The earliest *Seminar* was one in Philology, established at Halle, by F. A. Wolf, in 1787. Such a Seminar was opened at Berlin in 1812; one for Natural Science was founded at Bonn in 1825; and an historical Seminar at Königsberg in 1832. In the theological Seminar conducted by I. A. Dorner at Berlin, that great scholar is said to have 'developed his highest qualities as a teacher of youth.'¹

(2) *A comprehensive training*, by a large number of professors (ordinary and extraordinary professors, and licentiates), covering the whole field of theology; and in several kinds of courses (ordinary, private, and most private).

The number of full professors in the theological faculty of the German university at the present time is usually five; but some universities have a larger faculty, and those of Berlin and Bonn number ten. The number of *Ausserordentliche Professoren* and of *Privatdozenten* varies. The department of theology is usually divided into 5 sections, embracing the *Old and New Testaments*, *Church History*, *Systematic* and *Practical Theology*. The course may be extended from three to five or more years, and divided between several universities. Training for the practical work of the ministry must be sought at a *Predigerseminar*, or in service as pastor's assistant.²

4. *The revival of the study of Theology was not confined to Germany, but extended into other countries. It was generally characterised by the spirit of free theological investigation, and led to the organisation of a large number of new theological disciplines, such as Biblical Theology, Symbolics, Irenics, and Theological Encyclopædia. Among Roman Catholics it became a revival of Positive Theology and of Patristic.*

¹ Simon, 'Isaac August Dorner,' in *Presbyterian Review*, October 1887, vol. viii. p. 587.

² For further details *vide* W. A. Brown, *Theological Education*, in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, v. pp. 589 seq.

Great Britain and America, yes, France, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, were dependent upon German Theology all through the nineteenth century. The reason for this dependence was that German scholars ranged over the entire field of theology with freedom of scholarship both to investigate and to write and teach. But British and American Theology had its own peculiar principles and methods, and its own work to perform. In the latter part of the century the tide of thought, which has ebbed and flowed between Great Britain and the Continent several times since the Reformation, began to turn, and to set strongly in our direction.¹

It is impossible to cover the entire field of modern theological study in a few pages. Only a few of the most important achievements of the nineteenth century can be referred to here.

5. *Theological Encyclopædia*, first established as a theological discipline by Mursinna of Halle,² was reorganised by Schleiermacher, and further developed by other scholars.

Schleiermacher, in his *Kurze Darstellung des theologischen Studiums* (1811, 1830), reorganised the discipline of Theological Encyclopædia, and gave to it a more thorough exposition.

He was followed by a large number of scholars, such as: Rosenkranz (1831); Hagenbach (1833); Harless (1837); Pelt (1843); Lange (1877); Hofmann (1879) and Rothe (1880) in posthumous works; Räbiger (1880); Heinrici (1893).³ Among Roman Catholic scholars may be mentioned Klee (1832); Staudenmaier (1834, 1840); Wirtmüller (1874); and Kihn (1892). The chief German works now in use are those of

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, p. 158.

² *Vide* p. 180.

³ August Dorner's *Grundriss der Encyklopædie der Theologie* appeared in 1901.

Hagenbach and *Kihn*.¹ Less attention has been given to the subject in other countries. I may refer, however, to the works of *Kienlen* (1842), and *Martin* (1883), for France; those of *Clarisse* (1832), *Hofstede de Groot* and *Pareau* (1851), and *Kuyper* (1894; English, 1898), for Holland; those of *Hannah* (1875), *Drummond* (1884), and *Cave* (1886, 1896), for Great Britain; those of *M'Clintock* (1873), *Crooks* and *Hurst* (on the basis of *Hagenbach*, 1884, 1894), and *Schaff* (1892-1893), for the United States.²

6. There was a great revival of Biblical study in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and Biblical scholarship assumed the importance that it had in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century Biblical studies were neglected. But in the second half of the latter century there was a great change, and Biblical studies came to the front.³ Important work was done in many departments :

(1) *The Biblical Languages*.⁴ The Hebrew language was studied especially by *Gesenius* of Halle and *Rödiger* of Berlin. Their work was reproduced by *Edward Robinson* in the United States and by *Davidson* in Great Britain, and was carried on in the *New Hebrew Lexicon* (1906) by *Francis Brown*, *S. R. Driver*, and *C. A. Briggs*. The study of Hebrew grammar was greatly advanced in Germany by *Gesenius*, *Hupfeld* and *Kautzsch* of Halle, *Böttcher* of Dresden, *Ewald* of Göttingen, *Stade* of Giessen, and *König* of Bonn; in Great Britain, chiefly by *Davidson* and *Driver*; in the United States by *Nordheimer*, *Green*, and *Harper*.

The Greek language was studied especially by *Winer* and *Buttmann* for grammar; and for lexicography by *Grimm*, whose

¹ *Hagenbach, Encyklopädie und Methodologie der theologischen Wissenschaften*, 1833, 1884^{10,11}, ed. *Kautzsch*; 1889¹², ed. *Reischle*; *Kihn, Encyklopädie und Methodologie der Theologie*, 1892.

² In the latter part of the century encyclopædic works on theology began to be issued in serial form. Of these the *International Theological Library* (1891--), founded and edited by Dr. *Briggs*, is an example.

³ *Vide* *Briggs*, 'Study of the English Bible,' in *Presbyterian Review*, x. pp. 295 seq.

⁴ *Vide* *Briggs*, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 42 seq.

work was reproduced in the United States by *Edward Robinson* of New York, and *Thayer* of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

(2) The *Textual Criticism*¹ of the Old Testament has been carried on chiefly in recent times in Germany, through the texts of *Baer* and *Delitzsch*, and, still more recently, of *Kittel*, and by the work of *Hermann Strack* of Berlin. In England, *Davidson* did important work as a forerunner. But *Ginsburg*'s *Massora* is the greatest achievement since the Reformation in that line, and his Hebrew Bible has great merit. The *Polychrome Bible*, edited by *Haupt* of Baltimore, and published in parts, began to appear in 1894, many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic taking part in the work. The text of particular books was studied by *Wellhausen*, *Baethgen*, *Cornill*, *S. R. Driver*, *Klostermann*, *Beer*, and others. In New Testament Criticism there was a succession of great critics: in Germany, *Scholz* (1830-1836), *Lachmann* (1831-1850), *Tischendorf*, *Gregory*, *Gebhardt*, *Weiss*, and *Blass*; in England, *Tregelles* (1857-1872), *Scrivener*, *Westcott*, *Hort*, *Rendel Harris*, and others; in the United States, *Ezra Abbot* of Harvard.²

(3) The *Biblical Versions* have been studied especially in Germany by *Lagarde* (Bötticher) of Göttingen, and *Nestle* of Maulbronn; in Italy by *Ceriani* of Milan; in England by *Swete* of Cambridge, *Wordsworth*, *Brooke*, *M'Lean*, and others.

(4) The *Higher Criticism*,³ established by *Eichhorn* of Göttingen in 1780, has had a long development and a terrific struggle. In the several stages of progress three hypotheses were unfolded: *I. The Documentary Hypothesis* of *Eichhorn* (over against the *Fragmentary Hypothesis* of *Geddes*, 1792, and *Vater*, 1805), adopted among others by *Edward Robinson*; *II. The Genetic Hypothesis* of *De Wette*, followed by *Gesenius*, *Bleek*, *Ewald*, *Knobel*, *Hupfeld*, and others; battled with by *Hengstenberg*, *Hävernick* and *Kiel* in Germany; adopted by *Samuel Davidson*, *Dean Stanley*, and, in a measure, by *Perowne*. *III. The Development Hypothesis* of *Reuss* (1833), *Vatke*, *Graf*, *Wellhausen*, *Colenso*, *Kalisch*, and most modern scholars.

The Higher Criticism of the New Testament is involved in that of the Old, but the Old Testament has been the battleground.

¹ *Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 226 seq.

² [The work of Dr. Briggs in this department includes the planning of the *International Critical Commentary* (1895-—), its editorship in conjunction with *S. R. Driver* and *A. Plummer*, and his own contribution to the series.]

³ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 282 seq.; also *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, 1893, 1897.

The conflict resulted in the *Robertson Smith* case in Great Britain, the *Briggs* case in the United States, the *Loisy* case in France and Italy.¹

(5) *Historical Criticism.*² In this department four hypotheses have been advanced: *I. The Mythical Hypothesis* of *G. L. Baur* (1820) for the Old Testament, and of *Strauss* (1835) for the New; overcome by *Ullmann*, *Neander*, and others. *II. The Legendary Hypothesis*, set forth in *Renan's Life of Jesus* (1863), rejected by *Keim*, *Weiss*, *Beyschlag*, *Wendt* and others. *III. The Development Hypothesis*, applied by *F. C. Baur* to the New Testament, by *Vatke* to the Old Testament, under the influence of the Hegelian philosophy; overcome by *Neander*, *Dorner*, *Lechler*, *Weiss* and others. *IV. The Hypothesis of the School of Ritschl*, according to which Catholic Christianity is rather Greek and Roman than Jewish; and, in the Old Testament, the Persian and Babylonian religions dominate the Israelitish.

(6) *Contemporaneous History.* The earliest writer in this department is *Schneckenburger* of Bern, whose *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte* appeared in 1862. He was followed by *Hausrath* (1868-1874), *Schiirer*, *Holtzmann*, *Porter*, and others, for the New Testament. This department was not organised for the Old Testament, although *Bertheau* paved the way (1842). But a large amount of preparatory work was done, especially in the study of the archaeology and the history of the other Oriental nations, by *Schrader*, *George Smith*, *Lenormant*, *Robertson Smith*, *Francis Brown*, *Ebers*, *Erman*, *Baudissin*, *Baethgen*, *Tiele*, *M'Curdy*, and others.

(7) To *Biblical Archaeology* contributions of value were made by *Ewald* (1844), *Saalschütz* (1855-1856), *Keil*, *Benzinger*, *Nowack*, and other scholars.

(8) *Biblical Geography* was greatly advanced in the nineteenth century. *Reland* had summed up all previous knowledge of Palestine, and laid the foundations of the discipline in 1714; but the father of modern Biblical Geography is *Edward Robinson*, who made a personal investigation of the greater part of the Holy Land in two expeditions (1837, 1852), and published the results in three monumental volumes (1838-1860). An important systematic work was written by *Carl Ritter* (1848-1855). The work of *Robinson* was followed up by *Tobler*, *De Saulcy*,

¹ [For these and other cases *vide* *Briggs*, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 286 seq.; for the *Briggs* case, *vide* *The Case against Professor Briggs*, 1892, 1893; *The Defence of Professor Briggs*, 1893.]

² *Vide* *Briggs*, *Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 491 seq.; also *Biblical History*, 1890; *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, 1904.

Sepp, Guérin, Stanley, Tristram, Merrill, Wetstein, Palmer, Arnaud, Thomson, and Trumbull. A new impulse was given to the study of Biblical Geography by the Palestine Exploration Societies, established in England, the United States, and Germany, by their journals, maps, and other publications. Valuable contributions were made towards the close of the century by *Socin, George Adam Smith, Ramsay, and Gautier.*

(9) *Biblical Chronology* was studied by *Wieseler* (1843), *Caspari* (1869), *Niebuhr* (1896), and others.

(10) *Biblical Theology*,¹ first organised as a discipline by *Gabler* (1787), had a rich development in Germany, but only a slight one outside of Germany. *Schmid* first gave to this department its proper place in Theological Encyclopædia. [The first to write upon this subject in the United States, so far as known, was the author,² who published an Inaugural Address upon *Biblical Theology* in 1870.³ At that time] the chief works were posthumous: those of *Schmid* (for the New Testament), and of *Oehler* (for the Old Testament), both of the University of *Tübingen*. The most important works of the century published since that time are those of *Ewald* (1871-1876), *Kuenen, Riehm* and *Dillmann* (both posthumous), *Smend, Wendt*, and *Holtzmann*, in Germany; *Toy and Stevens*, in America; *Duff and Davidson*, in Great Britain.

7. The nineteenth century was characterised by historical investigation over a very extensive field.

The great historians of the nineteenth century were chiefly Germans:

(1) *Neander* of Berlin († 1850) made an epoch in Church History. His *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*⁴ extends to the Council of Basel (1430). It is comprehensive in method, not only dividing by periods, but in each period dividing again by departments. This method, while advantageous for

¹ *Vide Briggs, Study of Holy Scripture*, pp. 530 seq.

² [Dr. Briggs was also the first in the United States to attempt a complete course of lectures upon Biblical Theology, and held the first professorship on the subject from 1890-1904, publishing works on the theology of both Testaments: *Messianic Prophecy* (1886, 1902⁵), *Messiah of the Gospels* (1894), *Messiah of the Apostles* (1895), *The Incarnation of the Lord* (1902), *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus* (1904).]

³ Briggs, 'Biblical Theology,' in *American Presbyterian Review*, 1870, pp. 105 seq., 293 seq.; *Presbyterian Review*, 1882, vol. iii. pp. 503 seq.

⁴ *Neander, Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche*, 1823-1852, 1863-1865⁴; English, 1847-1852, 1882.

thoroughness of treatment, involves considerable repetition ; and the unity of the movement of history is lost in details.

(2) *Gieseler* of Bonn († 1854), afterwards of Göttingen, used the same method as that of Neander. His Church History¹ has a brief comprehensive text, and is rich in footnotes, giving the original sources.

(3) *F. C. Baur* of Tübingen († 1860) wrote a Church History,² both critical and philosophical, under the influence of the Hegelian philosophy, and with a profound insight into historical development. These are the three great Church historians of the middle of the last century.

There were many minor historians at this period, such as the Protestants, *Niedner*, *Hagenbach* and *Hase* in Germany, *Robertson* in England, *Chastel* in Geneva ; and the Roman Catholics, *Moehler* and *Döllinger*, both of whom were the peers of the Protestant writers of the time.

The chief historians in the latter part of the century were : (4) *Philip Schaff* († 1893), of the school of Neander, who thus characterised his own work : ‘It is written from the Anglo-German and Anglo-American standpoint, and brings the past in living contact with the present.’³ Schaff’s work is irenic, comprehensive, discursive, boiling over with suggestions about all sorts of things loosely connected with his theme. This is its chief fault.

(5) *Adolf Harnack* of Berlin has not written a general Church History, but deals only with special themes ; and in treating of these he writes under the domination of the philosophy of *Ritschl*. His principal work is his History of Christian Doctrine.⁴ His greatest service, however, has been in the field of early Christian Literature, and his most valuable contribution to Theology is his history of that Literature.

(6) *Karl Müller* of Breslau and Tübingen produced in his Church History (1892-1902) a judicious work.

(7) *Loofs* of Halle published invaluable *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte* (1901).

(8) *Fisher* of Yale wrote a *History of the Christian Church* in

¹ *Gieseler, Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1824-1857 ; the last part issued posthumously by Redepenning in 2 vols., 1855-1857 ; English translations by Davidson and Hull, revised by H. B. Smith and Stearns, 5 vols., 1857-1880.

² Baur’s *History* was published in 5 volumes under different titles (several posthumously), 1853-1863.

³ Schaff, *Theological Propædeutics*, p. 303.

⁴ *Vide* p. 196.

1888 ; and (9) *Hurst* published one in two volumes, 1897-1900. Both produced also several lesser historical works.

(10) *Duchesne* of Rome is the great Roman Catholic historian. His monumental work is now in progress (1905- ; English, 1909-). Three volumes have appeared, reaching to the close of the fifth century. *Duchesne* has written many monographs, the chief of which is his *Origins of Christian Worship* (1889), which has appeared in several editions and has been translated (English, 1902). *Duchesne* has many disciples, who, like *Batiffol* and *Turmel*, have written valuable monographs.

Church History has been divided into a large number of departments and sub-departments. One may say that all things have been put into the frame of Church History. It is impossible here to do more than mention some of the departments in which important work has been done.

I. *The Study of the Sources* : (1) *Diplomatics*. The work of *Mabillon* (1681) was carried on by *Jaffé* (1851), *Wattenbach*, *Delisle*, and others. (2) *Christian Archaeology, Inscriptions, Monuments*, especially the Catacombs, and *Christian Art*. The work of *De Rossi* on Inscriptions (1861-1888), the Catacombs (1864-1877), etc., was continued by *Garrucci*, *Marucchi*, *Wilpert*, and others. *Piper* published valuable works on Monumental Theology (1867) and the Mythology of Christian Art (1847-1851). Many books were printed on Christian Art, including the learned works of *Lübke*, *Schultze*, *Kraus*, and others, and the popular works of Mrs. *Jameson*. Dictionaries of Christian Antiquity and Archæology were issued by *Martigny* (1865), *Kraus* (1880-1886), *Smith* and *Cheetham*; Manuals on Archæology by *Augusti* (1836-1837), *Bennett* (1888), and others; and sources were collected by *Augusti* (1817-1831), *Binterim* (1825-1837), and a multitude of other scholars.

(3) *Geography* was studied by *Wiltsch* (1846), *Spruner*, *Grundemann*, *Werner*, and others.

(4) *Chronology* by *Grotfend* (1819-1844), *Piper* (1841), *Brinkmeier*, *Brockmann*, *Latrie*, and others. Chronological Tables were published by *H. B. Smith* (1860), *Kraus* and *Weingarten*.

(5) *Statistics* were studied by *Stüdlin* (1804), *Augusti* (1837-1838), *Wiltsch*, and others.

(6) *Christian Literature* attracted great attention ; and important work was done (a) for the *Patristic Period* by *Harnack*, *Von Gebhardt*, *Zahn*, *Lipsius*, *Lightfoot*, *Müller*, *Kihn*, *Barden-*

hewer, Krüger, Robinson, McGiffert, and many other scholars ; (b) for the *Middle Ages* by *Gass, Krumbacher, Ebert, Denifle, Ehrle, Potthast*, and others ; (c) for the *Modern Age* by *Ersch* (1822), *Danz* (1843), *Winer, Darling, Hurst, Gla, Hurter*, and others.¹ Collections of the works of the Fathers, Reformers, and other famous Christian writers appeared in great numbers.

(7) *The History of Church Councils* was studied by *Hefele, Hergenröther, Richter, Bright, Haddan, Stubbs*, and many others. *Richter, Froude*, and others also wrote on special Councils.

(8) The *Saints* and their lives were studied by the Bollandists in their great *Acta Sanctorum* and in the *Analecta Bollandiana* ; and also by *Le Blant, Pitra, Egli, Baring-Gould, O'Hanlon, Newman*, and many more. *Piper* published an *Evangelical Calendar* (1850-1871), which was translated in part by *H. M. McCracken* as *Lives of the Leaders of Our Church Universal* (1879). Lives of special *Saints* were also written, like that of *St. Francis* by *Paul Sabatier*, and that of *St. Catherine of Genoa* by *Baron Von Hügel*.

(9) *Christian Biography* received many valuable contributions. *Nitzsch* and *Hagenbach* edited the lives of the Fathers of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. *Brook* and others followed the illustrious example of *Neal* in the preceding century, and studied the lives of the Puritans. *Smith and Wace* published a valuable *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (1877-1887). Many series of biographies appeared, and numerous important monographs.

II. *Special Sections of Church History* were studied, such as

(1) *The History of Institutions*. (a) *Worship*. This department attracted such scholars as *Wordsworth, Cabrol, and Duchesne*. Collections of *Liturgies* were made by *Neale, Hammond, Daniel, Littledale, Swainson*, and others. (b) *Government*. On this subject important works were published by *Richter, Sohm, Von Schulte, Hergenröther*, and others. (c) *Canon Law* was studied by *Walther, Von Schulte, Dodd, Fulton*, and others. New editions of the *Corpus juris canonici* were issued by *Richter* (1834-1839) and by *Friedberg* (1880-1882). (d) *The Papacy* and its history were studied by *Von Ranke* (1834-1839), *Nielson, Pastor, Creighton*, and others ; *Particular Popes* by *Law, Roscoe*, and others. *Mirbt* published the *Sources*, and *Duchesne* prepared an

¹ *Vide also the works on Theological Encyclopaedia already referred to (pp. 188 f.).*

edition of the *Liber Pontificalis*. (e) *The Monastic Orders* received special attention from *Montalembert* (1860-1867), *Heimbucher*, and others.

(2) *The History of Doctrines and Dogmas*. *Neander* and *Baur* wrote histories of doctrine, and also monographs on the history of special doctrines. *Baur's* works on Gnosticism and on the Trinity are especially noteworthy; so also are *Julius Müller's* Doctrine of Sin, and above all, *Dorner's* History of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ, the greatest of all monographs of the kind. *Dorner* also wrote a History of Protestant Theology (1867). *Harnack's* History of Doctrine appeared in major (1886-1890) and minor (1889) editions; so also that of *Seeberg* (1895-1898, and 1901). *Loofs* published *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte* (1889, 1906); and *G. P. Fisher*, a *History of Christian Doctrine* (1896). The chief Roman Catholic writer on the subject is *Schwane*, whose work was issued in four volumes (1862-1890).

(3) *The History of Christian Life and Morals* was studied by *Uhlhorn*, *Brace*, and others, and valuable monographs were published.

III. *Parts of Church History*, or the *History of Particular Churches*, or of *Special Periods*. A large number of historians devoted their attention to some special part of Church History. Thus *Milman* wrote the History of Latin Christianity; *Neale* and *Stanley*, the History of Eastern Christianity; *Friedrich*, *Hauck*, and others, the Church History of Germany; *ReuterdaHL*, that of Sweden; *Bright*, *Stubbs*, *Hore*, *Plummer*, and others, that of England; *Hetherington*, *Cunningham*, *Stephen*, and others, that of Scotland; *Lanigan* and *Killen*, that of Ireland, etc.; *Hanbury*, *Dexter*, and others studied the History of Congregationalism; *Hetherington* and *Mitchell*, that of the Westminster Assembly.¹ Each denomination and every important epoch had its own historians. Several serials were issued, such as the *American Church History Series*, the *Epochs of Church*

¹ [To the study of church history Dr. Briggs contributed a volume on *American Presbyterianism*, 1885, and numerous articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the *Presbyterian Review*, *Magazine of American History*, and other periodicals.]

History, the *National Churches*, etc. The History of the Early Church received especial attention from *Neander*, *Döllinger*, *Farrar*, *Pressensé*, *Lechler*, *Wordsworth*, *Blunt*, *Bright*, *Fisher*, *McGiffert*, *Duchesne*, and many others; the Mediæval Period from *Hardwick*, *Moeller*, *Trench*, *Stubbs*, *Schmidt*, and others; the Reformation from *Merle D'Aubigné*, *Hagenbach*, *Hardwick*, *Häusser*, *Fisher*, and others. These are but examples of the numerous specialists at work in the field of Church History during the century.

8. *There arose in the course of the century a series of great systematic theologians, who aimed at a complete system of Theology, built upon Philosophy and Science, Bible and History, Church and Creed.*¹

The older divisions of *Doctrinal Theology* were: *Positive Theology* and *Scholastic Theology*, and *Faith* and *Morals*. These divisions are still retained in the Roman Catholic Church. In the Protestant Churches, however, *Positive Theology* has been resolved into *Biblical Theology* and *Symbolical Theology*. These are variously classified. If the main purpose is dogma, they may be classified as *Biblical Dogmatics* and *Symbolical Dogmatics*; if history, as the *History of Doctrine in the Bible* and the *History of Symbols*. But really both disciplines have become so comprehensive that we must classify *Biblical Theology* with the Biblical Department, and *Symbolics* under another head as *Comparative Theology*, to be considered later on. The usual Protestant divisions of *Systematic Theology* are *Apologetics*, *Dogmatics*, and *Ethics*. The division which I have used is rather *Religion*, *Faith*, and *Morals*.

1. Under the head of *Religion*, the union and communion of man with God, unfolds the *Philosophy of Religion*, and the statement and defence of the Christian

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Church Unity*, pp. 331 seq.

Religion, or *Apologetic* proper. The recent study of the Ethnic Religions has greatly extended this field, so that it now includes the study of the origin and history of every particular religion and a *Comparative Study of Religion*. These departments of Theology are in their infancy, and must be considered under another head. The older term of *Natural Theology* has gone out of use, and the discipline is now included under the larger term of *Philosophy of Religion*.

2. The *Faith* of the Church as defined in the Bible is *Biblical Dogmatics*; as defined in the Creeds is *Symbolical Dogmatics*; as defined by the consent of the Fathers it is *Patristic Dogmatics*; as defined by the Scholastics it is *Scholastic Dogmatics*. The division of the Church into denominations gave rise to a large number of denominational dogmatics; those of the Greek Church, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, etc. But most modern divines construct their dogmatics on certain philosophical principles; and so we have various speculative systems, representing different schools of philosophy and theology.

The chief Roman Catholic systems of the century were those of *Perrone*, a Jesuit (in nine volumes, 1835-1843); *Scheeben* (1892); *Bilot*, and *Janssen*, a Scholastic. The chief Lutheran systems were those of *Hase*,¹ *Schmid*, *Twesten*, *Martensen*, *Philippi*, *Thomasius*, *Lutharlt*, *Kahnis*. The chief writers among the Hegelians were *Marheinecke*, *Strauss*, *Biedermann*, *Pfeiderer*; among the Mediators, *Müller*, *Tholuck*, *Ullmann*, *Rothe*, *I. A. Dorner*; among the Ritschlians, *Ritschl* (1870-1874), *Kaftan*, and *Herrmann*. The Ritschlians exclude Mystic and Metaphysic, and make their *Werturtheilen* the subjective test of all theology. The Neo-Kantians recognise only the earlier Luther, not the later one; and only that in the New Testament which is commended as of real value. The chief Reformed systems of the Continent were those of *Schweizer* (1844-1856), *Heppe*, and *Ebrard*. The Anglican Church has had practically none since *Ussher*, except that of *Beveridge* (1710-1711, 1828).

¹ *Hase, Hutterus redivivus*, 1829, 1883¹².

The Scottish Presbyterians have had those of *Hill, Dick, Chalmers, and Cunningham*; the American Presbyterians those of *Charles and A. A. Hodge, Shedd, and H. B. Smith*. Among the German Reformed theologians may be mentioned *Gerhart*; among the Wesleyans, *Watson, Pope, Raymond, Miley*; among the American Episcopalians, *Buel*; among the Baptists, *Strong and Clarke*.

3. *Christian Ethics*, the third division of Dogmatics, was kept as a separate field in the Roman Catholic Church from the Middle Ages onward, but has only been cultivated by Protestants since the last century. It used to be taught in connection with Philosophical Ethics under the head of *Moral Philosophy*.

Among the chief writers of the century in this department may be mentioned the Protestants, *Neander, Rothe, Gass, Wuttke, I. A. Dorner, Martensen, and Newman Smythe*; and the Roman Catholics, *Sailer, Scavini, Hirscher, Klee, Lehmkuhl, and Schwane*.

9. *Comparative Theology* has risen above all the differences of religious denominations into that higher unity in which they all agree, and endeavours to consider their differences in religion, doctrine, and institution from an irenic point of view.¹

1. The *Science of Religion*, as we have seen,² has branched out into a large number of different departments, giving the history of every particular religion, and a comparative study of them all. This field of study supplies the first part of *Comparative Theology*, or *Comparative Religion*. The older study of the Ethnic Religions was polemic; the present is historic and pragmatic. There is a tendency towards irenic, as illustrated in the work of *Charles Cuthbert Hall, George W. Knox, and others*. Each religion has to be studied by itself, and then the comparison has to be made between them. If Christianity is the *universal* religion, then the

¹ *Vide Briggs, 'Ideal of the Study of Theology'; Address at Dedication of the New Buildings of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, 1910, pp. 133 seq.*

² *Vide p. 198.*

theologian must recognise, with Clement of Alexandria, that the Philosophy of the Greeks was, in its way, as truly a preparation for Christianity as the Law of the Hebrews ; and that the practice of ancient Israel in taking up into the Old Covenant religion elements of good, especially from the Babylonian and Persian religions, and the practice of the ancient Church in appropriating from the Greek, Roman, and Oriental religions, is the true and wise course for modern Christianity to adopt, by enlarging this theory and practice, so as to comprehend all of the religions of the world.

2. The discipline of *Symbolics*,¹ first established by Planck of Göttingen (1796), has had a long development.

On the basis of the work of Planck, *Marheinecke* published the first *Christliche Symbolik* (1810), and *Winer* his useful comparative study (1824). *Möhler* then came into the field with his *Symbolik* (1832, 1889¹⁰), which fixed the terminology of the discipline. His work was followed by those of *F. C. Baur* (1834), *Nitzsch* (1835), *Hase* (1862, 1894⁶), *Neander* (1863), and others. Of the writers whose works appeared towards the close of the century, *H. Schmidt* (1890), *E. F. K. Müller* (1896), and *Kattenbusch* (1892) may be mentioned. Many works were written on special subjects, like those of *Caspari* and *Kattenbusch* on the Apostles' Creed, and of *Plitt* (1867-1873) on the *Augustana*.

Collections of Symbols were made by *Schaff* for all the Churches (1877, 1890⁵) ; by *Niemeyer* (1840) for the Reformed Church ; by *Hase* (1827, 1845³) and *J. T. Müller* (1847-1848, 1890⁷) for the Lutheran ; by *Streitwolf* and *Klener* (1836-1838), and *Denzinger* (1854, 1911¹¹) for the Roman Catholic ; by *Kinmel* and *Weissenborn* (1843-1850) for the Greek Church.

Polemics, which had been an important theological discipline in the preceding century, became discredited,

¹ [The latest published works of Dr. Briggs are his contributions to this department, *The Fundamental Christian Faith*, 1913, and *Theological Symbolics*, 1914.]

and in modern theology has been well-nigh abandoned. *Irenics* is the newest section of *Symbolics*, yet it has already an extensive literature. It has been most fruitful on the Continent of Europe, where it originated.¹ *Irenics* is the resultant of all the previous theological disciplines, and puts the copestone upon them all. It studies the concord of Christendom, and on that basis shows the true unity of the Church of Christ; and it studies the discord, in order, if possible, to dissolve the differences and reconcile them in a higher unity, and in all to promote peace and harmony between all religious bodies.²

10. The field of Practical Theology has also greatly expanded, and many valuable works were produced in this department before the close of the century.

It is impossible here to do more than give the names of some of the sub-departments, in which important work was accomplished. (1) In the Department of *Religion* may be mentioned *Worship*, especially *Liturgics* and *Hymnology*, the *Sacraments*, *Pastoral Care* and *Pastoral Medicine*. (2) The Department of *Faith* now includes, with *Homiletics* and *Catechetics*, *Sunday Schools*, *Social Clubs*, etc.; (3) the Department of *Morals*, *Church Government*, *Law* and *Discipline*. In the field of *Missions* (city, country, and foreign) a great advance has been made.

Among the comprehensive works on this branch of theology may be mentioned those written by the Protestants: *Nitzsch*, *Harms*, *Van Oosterzee*, *Von Zezschwitz*, *Achelis*, *Krauss*, and *Vaucher*; and by the Roman Catholics: *Sailer*, *Hinterberger*, and *Graf*.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, pp. 16 seq.; 'Symbolics and Irenics,' in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1912, vol. lxxiv., No. 148, pp. 364 seq.

² [Dr. Briggs worked on the problems of *Irenics* for nearly thirty years, and published some of the results of his study in his volume on *Church Unity*, 1909.]

11. *The modern universities, like those of the Middle Ages, train theological scholars, but do not train ministers for the Church of Christ. The theological seminaries train ministers, but make no adequate provision for the higher studies of Theology.*

1. The universities of *Germany* have failed to provide the training necessary to an evangelical ministry. The *Predigerseminar* supplies the need only in part; and the service of pastor's assistant (for two years or more), while necessary and valuable, also fails to accomplish the purpose, because in the university the bent of the student's mind becomes so fixed upon speculative and merely theoretic theology, that it is difficult for him afterwards to become practical. It is well known that the working ministry of Germany has long been dissatisfied with the theological teaching of the universities, and is constantly urging for reform. It is certain that, if these Protestant clergy had their way, the teaching in the universities would be transformed, and the Hegelians and the Ritschlians alike would be banished. But the State stands in the way. The German universities of the nineteenth century and the present one are in exactly the same position as the universities of the Middle Ages. Their methods are excellent for a scientific study of theology, but ineffective for the training of a Christian ministry.

2. Germany was dependent upon *Great Britain* for almost all the practical reforms and religious movements that arose among her people during the past century. And yet in the British universities also the training was altogether inadequate, so far as theology was concerned. These great institutions produced notable scholars; but they did not supply the training necessary for the ministry of the Church. However, comparatively few of the students, even of those intending to enter the Christian ministry in the *Anglican Church*, attended the

university courses in theology. The Church of England was obliged to organise Diocesan Seminaries in order to provide the churches with ministers.¹ The Non-conformists were excluded from the universities until recent years. They were obliged to train their ministers in their private colleges ; and yet they have succeeded, notwithstanding all their disadvantages, in winning fully one half of the English people to the various branches of Nonconformity. In Scotland the universities have theological faculties, but with only four professors—a number altogether inadequate to do the work of modern theology. The Free Church with its three colleges, and the United Presbyterian with one (now united with the others in the reunion of those churches), have had more professors, longer courses, and a more thorough appropriation of modern methods and modern departments of theology ; and they have educated a ministry which, in spite of every disadvantage, has won nearly half of the Scottish people to their side.

3. The *French* and *Swiss* Protestants followed the methods of the British nonconforming bodies in their theological seminaries. The universities of Switzerland followed the same course as those of other countries. In *France* two seminaries were established for Protestants by Napoleon (1802) : the one at *Strasburg* for Lutherans, the other at *Geneva* for the Reformed. After the re-attachment of Geneva to Switzerland a new faculty of theology was established at *Montauban* (1808-1810) in connection with the academy of *Toulouse*. The Protestant faculty of theology at *Strasburg* was transferred to *Paris* in 1877, and became a mixed faculty, representing both the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches.

Towards the close of the century (1896) this Seminary became an organic part of the University of Paris. Two years later

¹ There are now twenty-nine theological colleges affiliated with the Church of England (W. A. Brown, *Cyclopedia of Education*, v. p. 592).

one of its professors described it as a 'mixed school . . . holding a conciliatory attitude toward the parties contending in our churches,' and as 'holding ground intermediate between the conservatism of the Montauban Faculty and the rationalistic bent of the Geneva Faculty.'¹

In French *Switzerland* the Free Churches separated from the State and established Free Seminaries in *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, and *Neuchâtel*, which have since educated the Evangelical clergy for French Switzerland and France.

Baird, writing in 1880, describes the Free Church seminaries as having a preparatory course or courses, covering from one to three years, followed by a three years' course of theology proper. Hebrew, as well as Greek and Latin, was studied in the preparatory course. In Geneva the number of hours per week in the Free Church Seminary was thirty; in the State institution, twenty-one. In all the Seminaries one-third of the time (8-10 hours weekly) was devoted to Biblical Exegesis, and divided about equally between the two Testaments.²

4. After the disasters of the French Revolution and the wars of Napoleon, the *Roman Church* devoted itself to the revival of theological education. For that purpose it undertook the restoration of the diocesan seminary and improvement in the training of the priesthood. To this end the Jesuit Order was restored in 1814; their college in Rome revived, and put under their control. The College of the Propaganda was re-established, as also the Roman Seminary and the College of Noble Ecclesiastics. The Jesuit Order reassumed its position at the head of theological education, sustained by the other orders, especially the *Sulpicians* in France. The newer learning was only moderately employed in the seminaries. These reverted

¹ Bonet-Maury, 'The Protestant Faculty of Theology of the Paris University,' in *New World*, 1898, vol. vii., No. 25, p. 128.

² *Vide* Baird, 'Notes on Theological Education in the Reformed Churches of France and French Switzerland,' in *Presbyterian Review*, 1880, vol. i. pp. 85 seq.

to a modified Scholasticism, building essentially on Thomas Aquinas. They have been successful in reviving in the Roman Catholic Church theological learning as well as a trained priesthood ; but their general attitude has been reactionary as regards modern methods. So far as the Catholic universities are concerned, the Catholic Church has patronised them in Germany¹ and Austria, and has tried so far as possible to influence and control professors and students ; but only in small measure have they succeeded. The Old Catholics of 1870 and the Modernists of to-day in Germany have chiefly gone forth from the universities. The Council of the Vatican (1870) urged the importance of higher universities ; not of the grade of the German universities, but of a higher order, to which the best scholars of the seminaries might resort for the highest possible theological education. Such institutions were established at Rome, in Belgium, and in the capital of the United States. The Catholic Church has long aimed at one in Ireland ; and would undertake to establish them in other countries, if it were practicable. This highest theological education, for the training of specialists in Canon Law, Scholastic Theology, and Liturgics, and also to make great preachers and evangelists, is in advance of all theological education in the Protestant world. Protestants also should establish and build up graduate schools for the study of the highest branches of theology, both scientific and practical. Otherwise the future will be disastrous to Protestantism. The present pope (Leo x.)² has undertaken to carry out a long and carefully prepared scheme for the reformation of seminaries, especially in Italy. The diocesan

¹ Four of the twenty-one universities of Germany have in their Theological Faculties Roman Catholics only ; four have both Catholics and Protestants ; thirteen are wholly Protestant (*vide* W. A. Brown, in *Monroe's Cyclopaedia of Education*, v. p. 589).

² This was written in March 1913.

seminary is an excellent institution in a large diocese, but a very inefficient institution in a small diocese. In Italy the number of diocesan seminaries was considerably over two hundred. Consolidation was necessary, and is now in course of accomplishment. Furthermore, there is a reform in theological study, in accordance with the study in the best French, English, and American seminaries.

For entrance to the seminary, preparatory study in the lesser seminaries, in the Gymnasium and Lyceum, is required (essentially that of the grammar school and the academy); then comes an introductory year in the seminary for the special study of Philosophy. The scheme assigns to the introductory year: *Biblical Greek*; the *Introduction to Church History*, the *True Religion*, *Theodicy*, *Cosmology*, the *History of Philosophy*, and *Natural Law*; to the four years of theology proper: *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Biblical Introduction* and *Exegesis*, *Church History*, *Dogmatics*, *Morals*, *Pastoral Theology*, *Liturgics*, *Canon Law*, *Patristic*, *Archæology*, *Sacred Art*, and *Sacred Eloquence*. The study extends over five years of nine months each, or forty-five months, with seventeen hours of lectures weekly for the first year, and twenty hours weekly for the other four years; that is, nearly double the amount of time required in some of the leading Protestant institutions. The apportionment of time is also different, the hours being so distributed among the four great departments, that where three are assigned to *Church History*, four are devoted to *Exegetical Theology*, six to *Doctrinal*, and seven to *Practical Theology*.¹

5. The *Greek Church* in Russia provides for the training of its priests diocesan seminaries, and for the training of teachers and missionaries four theological schools, located at *St. Petersburg*, *Moscow*, *Kief*, and *Kazan*. Outside of Russia the Greek clergy receive their training under theological faculties in the universities of *Athens*, *Bucharest*, and *Czernowitz*, in the seminaries at *Constantinople*, *Jerusalem*, *Belgrade*, *Zara* (Dalmatia),

¹ Vide *Riforma degli Studi nei Seminari in Italia. Lettera e Programma della S. Congr. de' Vescovi e Regolari* (Supplemento agli *Acta Pontificia*, Ottobre 1907); Roma 1907.

Hermannstadt and *Karlowitz*, or in smaller seminaries of a lower grade.¹

There are signs of a revival of the study of theology in the Greek Church. According to Adeney,

'There is a remarkable development of scholarship among the higher ecclesiastics. Learning was never allowed to die out in the leading monastic centres ; but hitherto this has been patristic learning without the least recognition of critical scholarship. Now the criticism of the West is breaking into the mind of the East. Students from the Greek Church are now to be found in German universities. The result is that the studies of Berlin, and Heidelberg, and Strasburg are being transplanted to Constantinople and Athens. Already these studies have borne fruit, and the Greek Church is coming forward with its contributions to Historical Theology. [An]other movement . . . of a more popular character . . . consists of the formation of societies for Biblical study. These societies are quite un-ecclesiastical in form, and are chiefly maintained by laymen. . . . The movement is spreading rapidly. . . . Meanwhile the need of schools for the clergy is being pressed.'²

6. Theological seminaries had their chief development among Protestants in *America*.³ Early in the nineteenth century it became evident that there must be more thorough training in theology, and theological seminaries began to be established after the method of the Roman Church.

The earliest of these was founded by the Congregationalists at *Andover* in 1808. The Dutch Reformed Church established its seminary at *New Brunswick*, New Jersey, in 1810. The Presbyterians opened one at *Princeton* (1812). In the years 1816-1819 the Divinity School at *Harvard* was established as a school distinct from the college. About the same time the Congregational Seminary of *Bangor*, Maine, was founded. The *General Theological Seminary* was opened by the Protestant Episcopalians in New York City in 1819. In the following year *Auburn* was founded by the Presbyterians, and *Hamilton* (now *Colgate*) by the

¹ *Vide* W. A. Brown, *Cyclopaedia of Education*, v. p. 589.

² Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, pp. 337 seq.

³ *Vide* Briggs, 'Theological Education and its Needs,' in *The Forum*, 1892, vol. xii. pp. 634 seq.

Baptists. In 1822 the Divinity School at *New Haven* was separated from the college. Three years later *Newton* was founded by the Baptists. In Pennsylvania, the German Reformed opened a seminary at *Lancaster* (1825), and the Lutherans at *Gettysburg* (1826). *Western Seminary* was established by the Presbyterians at *Allegheny* in 1827, and *Lane* at *Cincinnati* in 1832. *Hartford Seminary* was founded in 1834, and *Oberlin* in 1835, both by the Congregationalists. *Union Theological Seminary* was established in New York City in 1836. These seminaries devoted themselves to the study of theology in a three years' course, which has never been modified until the present day.

Early in the century there was another struggle¹ among the Presbyterians as to ministerial education, resulting in the separation of the Cumberland Presbyterians (1810), who insisted upon having a godly ministry, and upon accepting godly men as candidates, even if they could not, under the circumstances of a new country, be sufficiently educated.

The Methodists and Baptists were from the very beginning more intent upon an efficient ministry than upon an educated one.

The first Methodist college of any permanency after that of *Cokesbury*² was opened at *Middletown* (1831). The Methodists, however, trained their ministry at conference seminaries. The *Biblical Institute* was organised at *Concord*, New Hampshire, in 1847; but was subsequently removed to *Boston* (1867), and attached to the *Boston University*. The *Garrett Biblical Institute* at *Evanston*, Illinois (1854), was adopted as the theological department of *North-Western University*. *Drew* was organised in 1867.

The Baptists and other bodies also gradually organised colleges and seminaries, all being of the same general type.

12. *The Theological Seminary and the University are in mutual need of each other. Theology needs all the light*

¹ *Vide* p. 173.

² *Vide* p. 171.

that every department of science can give. The University in all its departments leads up to Theology, and cannot gain completeness in any of them without Theology. In recent years there has been a movement to bring the Theological Seminary into closer relation with the University.

Great advantages arose from the organisation of theological seminaries as separate institutions. Theological education made rapid strides forward. The ministry as a class received a higher professional education than they could have had otherwise. Vital piety was developed, as it could not have been in the universities, where the provisions necessary for its development are not so easily made. The study of theology in the university tends to become merely intellectual and scholastic. But if there are perils in the study of theology in the universities, there are perils just as great in the isolation of theologians in the theological seminaries. The tendency of the seminary is to assume a special type of doctrine and to manifest a peculiar type of piety. Both alike are injurious, the one to the scholar's quest for Truth, the other to the Christian's life in God. The theological seminary, by shutting itself off from university life, became limited and cramped. Its students were alienated from their fellow-students in the other professions, and cut off from the progress made in the other departments of learning. But theology has begun to burst through these limitations, and is reaching out in all directions and demanding the larger, freer life of the university. It has unfolded into a great number of studies, overlapping and entwined with those in the other departments of human learning. This expansion makes it impracticable any longer to conduct the study of theology apart from the universities. On the other hand, all the departments of the university are so interrelated to theology that they cannot do their full work without theology. If a way

can be found to combine the advantages of an independent theological school with the advantages of a university connection, we may hope to enter upon a new era of theological education, in which the hostility between Science and Religion, Philosophy and Theology, will pass away, and Theology itself expand with the appropriation of fresh material from all departments of human investigation.¹

In recent years seminaries not attached to universities have been making connections with universities.

In Great Britain, *Mansfield* and *Manchester Colleges* have been affiliated with *Oxford University*, *Cheshunt* with *Cambridge*, *King's College*, the *Highbury School of Divinity*, *New College*, and *Hackney* with *London University*. Other denominational colleges have been brought into connection with the universities of *Wales*, *Manchester*, *Leeds* and *Bristol*. The movement is leading to further experiments in Canada and Australia.² It was begun in New York in the *Union Theological Seminary* a few years ago (1890), when an arrangement was made with *Columbia*, into which the *General Theological Seminary* and *New York University* subsequently came, by which the students of the seminaries were enabled to attend courses in the universities. The *Episcopal Divinity School* at Cambridge has entered into friendly relations with *Harvard*, and the *Philadelphia Divinity School* with the *University of Pennsylvania*. *Andover Seminary*, removing to Cambridge (1908), has been affiliated with both *Harvard University* and the *Divinity School*. The *Baptist Seminary* at Chicago has become the theological department of *Chicago University*.

¹ *Vide* Briggs, 'Theological Education and its Needs,' in *The Forum*, 1892, vol. xii. pp. 638 seq.; 'Ideal of the Study of Theology,' in *Dedication of Union Theological Seminary*, pp. 121 seq.; 'The Scope of Theology,' in *American Journal of Theology*, 1897, vol. i. pp. 38 seq.

² *Vide* W. A. Brown, *Cyclopedia of Education*, v. pp. 593 seq.

13. *The field of Theology is now so vast that it is impossible to cover it in three years. Graduate schools are needed, in which the study of Theology may be carried on to the highest degree of excellence and with the most comprehensive thoroughness.*

Theological education is very far from its ideal. The field of study has become so vast that it is no longer possible for the theological student to acquire an adequate knowledge of theology in a three years' course. Some of the seminaries are now offering graduate courses. But the study of theology is still very defective in the great majority of the theological schools, and is still far from perfection in those most richly endowed and manned. Theology, like law and medicine, can no longer do its work without the graduate school, where the choicest men may give from two to four additional years to the more comprehensive and difficult branches of study.¹ The age of irenics has come—an age whose supreme conception of God is love, whose highest estimation of Christ is love, whose ideal of Christian perfection is love. The great fields of study that invite the modern student of theology are *Christian Ethics*, *Christian Sociology*, *Christian Eschatology*, and *Christian Irenics*. Upon these studies of the graduate school of theology to a great extent depends the future of Christianity throughout the world.²

14. *The study of Theology is the highest, the most comprehensive, the most difficult, and the most important of*

¹ Union Theological Seminary was the first to establish a graduate department, with graduate professors and courses leading to a doctorate of theology. This action, and that which brought the seminary into connection with the New York universities, were a partial fulfilment of ideals long cherished and worked for by Dr. Briggs, who gave his last years as a teacher of theology to building up a graduate school.

² *Vide* Briggs, *The Forum*, vol. xii. pp. 688 seq.; *Dedication of the New Buildings of the Union Theological Seminary*, pp. 120 seq.; *American Journal of Theology*, vol. viii. pp. 433 seq., 450 seq.

all studies ; for it is the study of God, and of all things in their relations to God.

Theology can have no other final aim than God Himself, communion with God, knowledge of God, and the service of God. Upon theology more than upon any other study the future of humanity depends. It is a study which brings into fellowship with prophets and apostles, with all the saints, with Jesus Christ, and with God the Heavenly Father. It is a study which calls forth all that is best within a man—his moral and religious, as well as his intellectual powers. It is a study which, in all its parts, may be animate with love to God and love to mankind. It is a study which men may share with angels and the spirits of the blessed. It is a study which knows no end. Other studies will pass away with the decay of the body and departure from this world ; but the study of theology, begun in this world, will go on for ever, richer, fuller, and more glorious, in any and every world, in any and every dispensation, in which God may place us through all the ages of eternity.

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